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A LOOK INTO MISSISSIPPI'S ECONOMIC FUTURE

By R. C. WEEMS, JR.

In spite of the fact that so often it is the unpredictable which happens in the business world, there are two types of economic forecasts which are usually quite dependable. One is that covering the forthcoming three to six months, which is fairly accurate because it is based upon orders actually on the books and contracts which have been entered into. The other is that which covers a period of ten years or more. This is reliable because it is based upon fundamental factors which go on year after year without abrupt changes. We call these steady movements *economic trends*. It is the latter, or long range type, that will be used here in an attempt to predict probable future developments in our own state.

First, let us see what types of long-range changes will be important to Mississippi over the next decade. The most far reaching have to do with population: total growth, distribution by races, distribution by age groups, and distribution as between city and country. Other significant long-range changes have to do with the manner in which we earn a living — from agriculture, from industry, or from service and trades, and also how much total improvement is taking place generally both in earning power and in incomes. Still other long range changes are continually taking place in our social structure, such as government controls, social security and the influence of labor unions. Let us examine some of these trends, and see where they are going to lead us.

Certainly the most fundamental change is that in population. Mississippi's population has remained relatively stationary for the past two decades. Our birth rate has been high, but our young people entering the prime of life have left us in great numbers, moving to other states. It is a serious economic burden for a poor state such as we are to train young people at public expense. And too often there are young people who will then make their own economic contributions elsewhere, and never do much for the upbuilding of their home state. In all probability this stalemate in population growth will continue, and even by 1966, we shall probably not have a great many more people in Mississippi than we have today. The most optimistic prediction our State College sociologists will make is that in 1966 the total population will be 2,300,000 — up only 300,000 from the present figure.

But while the total of population will remain almost the same, there will be some rather startling internal changes taking place.

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There will be a steady decline in Negro population and an increasing percentage of Whites. More and more Negroes are leaving Mississippi in order to settle in large industrial cities. In 1940, Negroes and Whites made up almost equal portions of the population. In 1950, Negroes accounted for only 45%. At present, the percentage of Negroes is down to 42%. This trend probably will continue to 1966, with a Negro population of only 35 to 37%. Surely some of our social problems will become much less acute as our Negro-White ratio approaches that of the United States as a whole.

Throughout the nation, the percentages of very young and very old have shown sharp increases. The first condition means that our educational facilities are going to have to bear a tremendous burden. The problem has already become critical in our elementary grades and is only just beginning to be anticipated in our colleges. Accurate projections give our major senior colleges enrollments of 5,000 to 6,000 each in 1965, approximately twice their present capacities.

As for the older people, we know that financed by social security, they will become an increasingly important part of our economy and will constitute a great new market.

Another great population change now taking place in Mississippi is a steady movement of people from the country to the town and city. Nearly all our population centers are sharing in this, even towns of 1,000 to 1,500. This trend is based on the availability of good town-to-country roads and the conveniences of group living.

It might be interesting to pause right here and see what practical conclusions we can draw with respect to the trend away from the country. In the first place, while all our towns and cities will grow, there are two sections of Mississippi that will be particularly favored, the Metropolitan area of Jackson and the Mississippi Gulf Coast. Jackson, with its central location, its industrialization, and its recent record growth will go on to become a city of 175,000, with a Metropolitan area of 250,000.

The Gulf Coast also will become a metropolitan center almost equaling Jackson in importance. There is throughout the United States a trend in the direction of the building up of resort sections of our country, particularly as older people in the population increase both in numbers and percentage and social security provides them with a purchasing power such as they have never had before. This trend in terms of Mississippi's economic future would indicate that the Mississippi Gulf Coast is in for an increasing share of older and retired people and consequently its population should show a growth more rapid than that of the other sections. The Coast population may well exceed 200,000 by 1966.

Other urban areas which will increase greatly in importance are Natchez, which should reach 50,000; Greenville, which could easily grow to 60,000; and the tri-city area of Columbus, West Point, and Starkville. There is a very rapid influx of industry into these particular sections and they will take on the aspects of metropolitan areas within the next decade.

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The incomes of Mississippians will show improvement over the decade. We are still at the bottom of the list of states and it is very doubtful if we shall even attain the national average in the next ten years. We have a huge surplus of population, both white and black, which is a constant depressant upon wages. This also results in an intensification of competition and a lowering of profits of small business enterprises. Per capita income of Mississippians will probably not rise to the national level until we have enough industry to absorb the ever-present excess population. Possibly it will take twenty years rather than ten but we are making progress in that direction and by 1966 Mississippi will probably not be the state with the lowest per capita income.

Automobiles have become almost the sole means of travel within our state, some studies indicating that they represent well over 90% of the total facilities used. This factor is already resulting in almost revolutionary changes in our public highways. The ten-year program recently announced by President Eisenhower will give Mississippi three major national truck line highways of four lanes or more. One of these will run through Jackson and will connect Memphis and New Orleans following the present Highway 51. The other will run through Meridian along the present Highway 11 connecting New Orleans and Birmingham. The third will run along Highway 90 on the Gulf Coast, connecting New Orleans and Mobile. It does appear that these major highways tend to help cities like New Orleans and Memphis rather than Mississippi cities. But undoubtedly our own highway engineers will see to it that Mississippi's needs are considered by the provision of adequate connecting roads.

Insofar as services and trades are concerned, it is evident that hotels, motels, drive-in restaurants and the like undoubtedly will be favored. All these probably will continue to increase at a rapid rate, for as the population of the United States increases, there will be a steady increase in the amount of tourist travel within the state.

Insofar as business men generally are concerned, there is little doubt but that certain trends now in evidence will continue. For example, the trend toward automation will increase. In the soft drink industry this is particularly important because it is going to lead into new and untried fields in manufacturing and vending. Automatic electronic devices will begin to take the place of automatic machinery, and present bottling plants which are today almost self-operative will become even more so, but will require more expert maintenance and management.

Products and markets will increase in numbers and complexities. The problems of selling will become far more complicated than they are today and competition will undoubtedly become more intense. Economic survival will come to those who do the best job of supplying to the people the products which they want at the price which they will pay. New products and ideas will be tried in every increasing numbers. For example, if the present trends continue in the bottling

industry, we shall have more bottle sizes, more flavors, and to satisfy the older elements in the population, specialised types of liquid food supplements which mention calories, vitamins, and the like. Possibly there will be experimenting with such things as self-cooling bottles, "dial-a-flavor" machines, instant carbonating drinks in paper bottles, etc.

Prices will undoubtedly continue to rise. There are literally hundreds of forces at work which determine prices and at the same time there is no single stabilizing factor. There seems to be a policy on the part of the Federal Reserve System and the Treasury Department of taking steps to halt any serious price breaks; but at the same time they are a little less diligent in trying to hold down any price increases. Undoubtedly, prices will move upward slowly and steadily. By 1966, soft drink prices of 8¢ will be in order and I rather suspect that the 8¢ price will mean an immediate jump to 10¢ in order to make automatic machinery more efficiently usable.

Most of the increase in prices will come because of the increased hourly earnings of wage earners. There will, of course, be the consumer in the form of higher wages rather than lower prices. Of course, manufacturers owe it to themselves and their customers to provide production and service at as low a cost as possible. At the same time, the absolute floor under such costs will move upward so that it will not be possible to hold the line indefinitely at present price levels.

In 1966, Mississippi will be a fine place in which to live and operate a business. Nearly all our present trends are much to the good — increasing incomes, increasing industry, the increasing employment of our population, and the steady growth of our major cities. Mississippi has a good economic future.

Also, Mississippi in recent years has enjoyed its full share of the growth of the United States economy. As the United States moves over the next decade, so will Mississippi move and that in itself looks like an extremely good picture.

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THE GREAT THOUGHT

A LOOK AT JEANS' UNIVERSE

By LYELL BEHR

The intelligent person of catholic interests probably has less acquaintance with the theories of, and advances in, the physical sciences than in any other branch of knowledge. What are the reasons for this undesirable circumstance? Some would doubtless say that the trouble is that physico-chemical concepts are intrinsically difficult. However, it is doubtful that this could be so — at least up to the advent of the modern physical and chemical theories. And here the difficulty in understanding is shared by the physical scientists themselves. A second reason — and a common complaint heard from the layman — is that the uninitiated does not have the appropriate background to understand physical theory. There is truth, of course, in this contention, but a *qualitative* understanding is not as difficult as is generally felt.

Undoubtedly, the most important reason for the unfortunate deficiency mentioned above is that there is and has been a lack of intermediaries who can adequately interpret physical science to the layman. To be successful at writing of this type, one must be an eminent, or at least capable, scientist and must have talent at expressing himself. There is a sufficiency of worthy scientists and no shortage of talented writers, but the combination is rare. It is perhaps rarer than it could be — for there are likely numerous scientists who might be capable expositors. But scientists would rather spend their time in scientific investigation. They publish their results in the learned journals and some write books, but these writings are nearly always prepared for other scientists.

Inevitably, then, scientific writing for popular consumption is done in the main by journalists. Every general magazine of national circulation and most metropolitan newspapers have a science writer, almost invariably someone whose scientific training consists of one year each of chemistry and physics. Very few have even an approximate understanding of research in physical science, and many of them exert little effort even to get their facts straight. Sensationalism appears to be inherent in journalists, at any rate, so that a goodly percentage of what one reads in the popular press is not trustworthy science.

We return, then, to the lamentable circumstance that there are few capable scientists with a broad viewpoint and writing ability who are willing to write for the intelligent layman. Great Britain has been more

fortunate than we in producing such men. In addition to Sir James Jeans, there come to mind Sir Arthur Eddington, J. B. S. Haldane, and Bertrand Russell.

Sir James Jeans spent most of his life in an academic atmosphere. Born in 1877, he was educated at Cambridge University and taught there until 1904. For the five years following he was professor of applied mathematics at Princeton. He returned to Cambridge in 1910 and remained in England most of the rest of his life. His death occurred in 1946. From 1904 on, he wrote books at the average rate of one every three years. All of his earlier works are technical treatises, but most of the later books were written for the intelligent layman. Among the technical monographs there may be mentioned *Dynamical Theory of Gases* (1904), *Radiation and the Quantum Theory* (1910), *Problems of Cosmogony and Stellar Dynamics* (1919), and *An Introduction to the Kinetic Theory of Gases* (1940). The best known of his popular books are *The Universe Around Us* (1929), *Through Space and Time* (1934), *Science and Music* (1937), *Physics and Philosophy* (1942), and *The Mysterious Universe* (1930).

In *The Mysterious Universe*, Jeans essays a formidable assignment — that of describing the material universe, from the electron to the great spiral galaxies. His approach is essentially historical, and it is only in the latter portion of the book that he introduces speculation. The book is short and consists of five chapters whose headings are "The Dying Sun," "The New World of Modern Physics," "Matter and Radiation," "Relativity and the Ether," and "Into the Deep Waters." Concerning the contents and aims of the book, Jeans writes in his foreword:

> There is a widespread conviction that the new teachings of astronomy and physical science are destined to produce an immense change on our outlook on the universe as a whole, and on our views as to the significance of human life. The question at issue is ultimately one for philosophic discussion, but before the philosophers have a right to speak, science ought first to be asked to tell all she can as to ascertained facts and provisional hypotheses. Then, and then only, may discussion legitimately pass into the realms of philosophy.
>
> With some such thoughts as these in my mind, I wrote the present book, obsessed by frequent doubts as to whether I could justify an addition to the great amount which has already been written on the subject.
>
> The first four chapters, which form the main part of the book, contain brief discussions, on very broad lines, of such scientific questions as seem to me to be of interest, and to provide useful material, for the discussion of the ultimate philosophical problem.
>
> The last chapter stands on a different level. Everyone may claim the right to draw his own conclusions from the facts presented by modern science. This chapter merely contains the interpretations which I, a stranger in the realms of philosophical thought,

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feel inclined to place on the scientific facts and hypotheses discussed in the main part of the book. Many will disagree with it — it was written to this end.[1]

The implications of the facts and theories discussed in the book are tremendous. We cannot, of course, weigh the influence of the book by assessing the effect of the ideas contained in it; particularly since, as mentioned previously, Jeans' fundamental task was that of a historian or reporter. What Jeans has done is to make these ideas, not original with him, assimilable by more people. Others have attempted the same thing, but with less success. The superiority of Jeans' writing lies in his ability to invent analogies for every difficult point. In the discussion which follows, we shall unabashedly use some of them. It should be remembered that *The Mysterious Universe* was published twenty-five years ago, and that there have been discoveries since which would bear upon Sir James' discussion. There are also new theories which have supplanted some of those current in 1930. We shall try to fit new facts and theories into Jeans' account where it seems possible to do so.

In the first chapter of *The Mysterious Universe*, Jeans is concerned with the genesis of the solar system and the origin and nature of life. Several methods of calculation — the most recent using radioactive data — show the age of the earth to be four to five billion years. These methods are only approximate, but it is unlikely that the similarity of the results is merely coincidental. Accepting this figure, we wonder what catastrophic event could have occurred at that distant time. Twenty-five years ago it was believed that the planets were produced as a result of the near approach of some star to our sun. The gravitational effects would be tremendous enough to tear loose a large fragment or fragments from the sun. The chances for such a meeting are unimaginably small. Our nearest neighbor among the stars if 4.3 light years away — a stupefying distance, yet minute by galactic standards. Jeans likens the distances between stars to ships sailing upon an ocean one million miles apart. The possibility of a chance meeting would obviously be exceedingly small. The chance of a second happening of the kind would almost be out of the question. The conclusion is that if the solar system was indeed formed as just described, there cannot be very many other solar systems in the universe — a melancholy prospect, indeed, with Earthman, the sole proprietor (or renter) of the universe. A modified version of the origin of the solar system is that two spiral nebulae passed through each other. This would increase the likelihood of a near meeting greatly since the stars would on the average be considerably closer to each other. It would imply the existence of other planetary systems in our galaxy, the milky way, together with whichever spiral nebula provided the party of the second part.

The most recent theory of the origin of the universe holds that the creation of all stellar bodies occurred at almost the same time. If the

[1]Sir James Jeans, *The Mysterious Universe* (New York, Macmillan, 1931), vii, viii.

planets were created slightly later, it would mean there was a very high local concentration of matter, so that the chance for the formation of planetary systems would be great. Whatever the truth of the birth of the Earth, it would be hard to deny that we occupy an insignificant part of the universe. The tremendously larger part of the universe is free of matter. The largest material bodies, the stars, could not support life. The others are too hot or too cold and have either no atmosphere or one unfavorable to life. We must conclude that we live in a universe which is not benign toward life. Indeed, hostile is perhaps not too strong a word.

If the physical conditions suitable to life are rare, can we conclude whether they are sufficient? That is, would life evolve automatically if suitable physical conditions are supplied? Obviously we do not know the answer. Is it possible that if we could construct all the molecules in a living cell and arrange them properly that we would have produced life? For the present, the question is purely academic, but there will be a time when it will be otherwise. With the British gift for understatement, Jeans writes that such an experiment "may well produce a greater revolution of thought than Galileo's astronomy or Darwin's biology."[2]

We speak of life glibly and assume that definition is unnecessary. There can be no doubt that Jeans would have made much of this point had he lived to learn of the tobacco mosaic virus. This substance is the causative agent in a disease of tobacco. It is a crystalline substance and consists of a single molecular species, though one of enormous complexity. It belongs to a class of substances known as nucleoproteins and has a molecular weight of about 60,000,000. Though the virus cannot reproduce itself in a culture, it is able to in the tobacco plant. It does not, however, show any other of the attributes commonly associated with living matter: irritability and respiration, for example.

Before 1820, organic compounds and inorganic compounds were thought to be different in character. It was believed that organic compounds were made only by animate matter, and that some "vital force" was necessary to their synthesis. Inorganic compounds were obtained from mineral sources. This dichotomy existed until the 1820's when Wöhler produced urea, a recognized organic compound, from ammonium cyanate, which was acknowledged as inorganic. So entrenched was the idea of the vital force that Wöhler was dubious of the result of his experiment; he repeated it several times. After other chemists repeated Wöhler's experiment and other similar transformations had been accomplished, it became apparent that the difference in the two classes of compounds is that organic substances contain carbon. The peculiar property of carbon is its ability to unite with itself to form chains of any length and rings. A few other elements have this property but to a lesser extent. For example, compounds with eight nitrogen atoms in a chain, and with five boron atoms so linked are known, but they are unstable. There appears to be no limit to the length of chain in which carbon can participate. Thus life depends on the pecularities of the carbon atom.

[2] *Ibid.*, 9.

Other atoms, however, also have their peculiarities. Only a few of them, for example, are magnetic, and only some of them are radioactive. It is painfully obvious that the existence of man is a fact of little importance to the functioning of the universe, and it is much more possible that magnetic and radioactive properties are far more significant. If we eschew the belief that man is the center of the universe, we are also forced to conclude that life is an accidental consequence of the special set of laws by which the universe is governed. Jeans puts it:

> If, however, we dismiss every trace of anthropomorphism from our minds, there remains no reason for supposing that the present laws were specially selected in order to produce life. They are just as likely, for instance, to have been selected in order to produce magnetism or radioactivity — indeed more likely, since to all appearances physics plays an incomparably greater part in the universe than biology. Viewed from a strictly material viewpoint, the utter insignificance of life would seem to go far towards dispelling any idea that it forms a special interest of the Great Architect of the universe.[3]

So much for the history of life. What of its future? All available evidence indicates that it is bleak. The energy supplied by the sun must gradually decrease since it has no appreciable external source. It is now believed that this energy is produced largely by the conversion of hydrogen to helium, as in the hydrogen bomb. Though we can make no accurate calculations, it is believed that no appreciable diminution in the sun's output will occur for millions of years. Cases are known of stars suddenly exploding, and if this happened to the sun, our end may come any time. Perhaps before the sun dies, we shall have discovered interstellar travel; but a mass migration would only be postponing the end, for the whole universe is doomed to death. The second law of thermodynamics tells us that the total energy of the universe will become uniformly distributed. Since any kind of an act requires a transfer of energy, no act could then occur.

Jeans closes his first chapter on this doleful note. He expresses it in an especially melancholy way.

> Is this, then, all that life amounts to? To stumble, almost by mistake into a universe which was clearly not designed for life, and which, to all appearances is either totally indifferent or definitely hostile to it, to stay clinging on to a fragment of a grain of sand until we are frozen off, to strut our tiny hour on our tiny stage with the knowledge that our aspirations are all doomed to final frustration, and that our achievements must perish with our race, leaving the universe as though we had never been.[4]

[3] *Ibid.*, 12.
[4] *Ibid.*, 15.

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The second chapter of *The Mysterious Universe* is titled "The New World of Modern Physics." In it Jeans is concerned with causality and the principle of determinism and with the duality of matter and energy. The idea of causality was not obvious to primitive man. Changes in the weather, his luck at the hunt, the arrival of meteors, and other natural phenomena must have convinced him that nature was indeed capricious. In general, his tendency was to assign a god to any phenomenon he failed to understand.

As knowledge of natural phenomena became greater, the principle of causality began to emerge:

> What happened at any instant did not depend on the volitions of extraneous beings, but followed inevitably by inexorable laws from the state of things at the preceding instant.
> And this state of things had in turn been inevitably determined by an earlier state, and so on indefinitely, so that the whole course of events had been unalterably determined by the state in which the world found itself at the first instant of its history; once this had been fixed, nature could move only along one road to a predestined end. In brief, the act of creation had created not only the whole universe but its whole future history. The final establishment of this law as the primary guiding principle in nature was the triumph of the 17th century, the great century of Galileo and Newton. Apparitions in the sky were shown to result merely from the universal laws of optics; comets, which had hitherto been regarded as portents of the fall of empires or the death of kings, were proved to have their motions prescribed by the universal law of gravitation. [5]

The almost complete triumph of causality where there had been mystery led to the interpretation of everything in terms of mechanics. The great scientists of the 19th century made statements to the effect that all the universe would ultimately prove to be explicable on a mechanical basis. When mechanics failed to achieve complete explanation, it was felt that it was our lack of ability or knowledge that caused failure rather than the inherent nature of the process. It may be that this is still so, though we are no longer sure.

At any rate, each extension of the law of causation and every success of mechanics made belief in free will more difficult. Some made the jump, and professed the opinion that there was no reason for life to be excepted from the rule. A quotation from Jeans describes this development:

> Out of such considerations arose the mechanistic philosophy of the 17th and 18th centuries and their natural reactions, the idealist philosophies which succeeded them. Yet until early in the nineteenth century life could still be regarded as something standing entirely apart from inanimate nature. Then came the discovery

[5] *Ibid.*, 18.

that living cells were formed of precisely the same chemical atoms as non-living matter and so were presumably governed by the same natural laws. This led to the question why the particular atoms of which our bodies and brains were formed should be exempt from the laws of causation. It began to be not only conjectured, but fiercely maintained, that life itself must, in the last resort, prove to be purely mechanical in its nature... Because such a creed left no room for the operation of choice and free-will, it removed all basis for morality. [6]

Near the end of the 19th century, scientists began to admit that there are physical phenomena which are not susceptible of a mechanical explanation. The best known of these is the law of radioactive decay. Radioactive atoms are those whose nuclei spontaneously lose mass and are transformed into new elements. Radium atoms, for example, undergo decay finally to yield lead and helium, which are stable. Radium itself is a product of radioactive decay. But this need not concern us. What is important is that this decay occurs according to a mathematical expression, at least when a large number of atoms is involved. Without writing the exact expression, one may speak of the half-life of a species of radioactive atom. The half-life of radium, for example, is 1,600 years. Therefore, if one has x atoms of radium, he will have $\frac{x}{2}$ atoms in 1,600 years, and $\frac{x}{4}$ atoms in 3,200 years, and so on. There appears to be no way of changing this rate of decay. Exposure to radiation, heating, compressing, making a compound of radium — all have no effect on the rate. It seems that there is no apparent reason why a particular radium atom should decompose more than any other; so that in radioactivity it appears that cause and effect do not apply. All we have is a probability function — a mathematical law — which enables us to predict how many atoms will spontaneously disintegrate in a given time. Though radioactivity is the best-known example of the apparent violation of the law of cause and effect, others are known to the physicist.

At about the same time radioactivity was first being investigated, there were developments in the field of electromagnetic vibrations which we can best describe by reference to the theories of light. Newton believed that light was corpuscular. Later development showed that not all phenomena could be accounted for by a corpuscular theory. For example, when a ray of light strikes a liquid, part is reflected, and part enters the water and is refracted. If light is corpuscular, there is no reason for believing that one corpuscle should behave differently from another. Even more serious evidence against the corpuscular idea is the phenomenon of diffraction. When light passes through a large hole, a circular patch of light would be seen on a screen. If the hole is decreased to an extremely small size, the light passing through no longer shows a circular patch. Instead, a series of concentric alternate dark and light rings similar to a target is seen on the screen. An explanation

[6] *Ibid.*, 20.

of this phenomenon demands wave properties in light. Reflection, refraction, and diffraction are all well explained by the wave concept of light. Yet the wave description of light in turn offered difficulties, particularly in the field of photoelectric phenomena. Without going into the problem, it may be observed that science discovered that all kinds of radiation exist in small indivisible packets. Thus, we are forced to a corpuscular concept, but with the difference that we must also admit the wave aspect of light also. The energy of these packets, called quanta, differs with the various wave lengths of radiation and is equal to $h\nu$, which h is Planck's universal constant, 6.6×10^{-27} *erg-sec.*, and ν is the frequency of the radiation. The existence of quanta and the value of Planck's constant have been corroborated in many ways. Thus, we are faced again with the principle of indeterminacy, for if a beam of radiation is reduced finally to a quantum (which is indivisible) and two paths are available to it, it must follow one path or the other — it cannot follow both. We can deal with large numbers of quanta, relying upon our experience and invoking the theory of probability. But, as to the fate of a single quantum of radiation, we cannot predict.

Another example of this indeterminacy is provided by chemistry. According to kinetic theories, when two organic compounds react, there is first produced a "transition state," which contains all of the elements of the two reacting substances. The transition state has a very short life and several fates are open to it. It may, of course, return to the original reactants. On the other hand, new substances may be produced, and if so, we say that a chemical reaction has occurred. We may represent this process as

$$A + B \rightleftharpoons T \longrightarrow C + D$$

But experience has shown that when two substances react, often several products result, which means that the transition state can decompose in more than one way. The simplest situation of this type can be represented

$$A + B \rightleftharpoons T \longrightarrow \begin{matrix} C + D \\ \searrow E + F \end{matrix}$$

Again, if we consider a large number of molecules, we can predict under specified conditions what the ratio of the two types of products would be. We cannot, however, predict what would be the fate of a single pair of the reactants A and B. Again we are facing indeterminacy. We must always appreciate the fact that our inability to predict — the law of causality — may be due to lack of knowledge; so the indeterminacy may not be real. No less a personage than Einstein felt that this is so.

We have seen that radiation has a particulate aspect as well as wave properties, and we can demonstrate either, depending on the method of testing. Perhaps an even more surprising development is that matter has wave characteristics. The evidence concerns chiefly electrons, but it is believed that other particles partake of a wave characteristic but the waves are too short to be detected by our instruments. De Broglie has postulated that the wave length associated with a particle is given by $\lambda = \frac{h}{mv}$, in which h is Planck's constant and mv (mass x velocity) is the

momentum of the particle. No evidence for the wave nature of the electron need be cited except to say that the electron microscope can be purchased, if you have the money.

A whole mathematical science has been built on the subject of the wave-mechanics of the electron. Indeed, three distinct systems have been invented: those of Heisenberg, Dirac, and Schrödinger. Though equivalent in most respects, that of Dirac is most complete; that of Schrödinger has the least terrifying mathematics. Using Schrödinger's methods, a complete study of the hydrogen molecule has been made. A hydrogen molecule consists of two protons and two electrons. The calculations show that one can at no time locate exactly an electron. The best that can be done is to select a volume and give the probability of an electron being present therein. Thus the chemists can no longer legitimately picture an electron as an immovable dot — it would be more accurate to picture it as a smear of varying blackness. For molecules more complex than hydrogen, no exact solution has been obtained. By making assumptions, however, valuable information about more complex molecultes has been obtained.

Thus we have reached a painful situation. What we call matter has wave properties, and what we call radiation has particulate properties. Though we can make calculations and postulate laws which enable us to understand the behavior of both matter and radiation, we no longer have a physical picture to reassure us. The material universe thus appears to be something other than our senses tell us, and it would not perhaps be too much to say that mass and waves are inventions of our own which appear to fit formulas which we have invented. We seem to be thwarted in our efforts to obtain a physical picture, if, indeed, there is one. Witness the delocalization theory which results from Schrödinger's wave mechanics. Heisenberg's calculations seem to show the same thing. The more accurately we attempt to locate an electron, the less one can tell about its momentum. The reverse is also true: attempts to discover the momentum of an electron reveal nothing about its location. And if we try to "see" or photograph an electron, we are doomed to failure. To get an image of anything it is necessary that the eye or the photographic plate receive energy which, we have seen, is quantized. Unfortunately, a quantum of radiation which would be "reflected" from an electron would displace it from its orbit or even expel it entirely from the atom.

The third chapter of *The Mysterious Universe* is entitled "Matter and Radiation," but it deals with a variety of subjects. First come the laws of conservation of mass and energy. The idea of "mass" was an invention of Newton, who supposed that every body had associated with it an unvarying quantity which gave a measure of its reluctance to change its motion. It was appealing and logical to invent a law of conservation of mass. Such a law can be stated in several ways. For example, one could state that the amount of mass in the universe is constant, or alternately that no matter what kind of a physical process or chemical process a body is subjected to, there is no change in mass. Lavoisier attempted to check or disprove the law, and could detect no mass changes.

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The law of conservation of energy was developed later because of its greater subtlety, a result of the existence of energy in various manifestations. Under the conditions which occur in nature, mechanical energy appears to be lost. A bullet loses speed in passing through the air; a baseball will finally stop rolling. It was not until it was recognized that heat and sound are forms of energy that the pathway was cleared for recognition of the law. Nowadays the freshman or sophomore physics student performs an experiment to determine the mechanical equivalent of heat. What appears to be a loss of energy in natural phenomena turns out merely to be a change to another form.

So, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the laws of conservation of mass and of energy held sway. As Jeans expresses it, "Nineteenth century physicists were accustomed to write of them as though they governed the whole of creation, and on this basis philosophers dogmatized as to the fundamental nature of the universe."[7]

Near the end of the nineteenth century, Sir J. J. Thomson discovered the electron. At first, calculations showed and later experiments proved that the mass of an electron increases with its speed. This increase is found to be exactly proportional to the energy which it has attained by virtue of its velocity. In 1905, Einstein first published his theory of relativity, one development of which is that energy itself has mass. This would mean that a body absorbing energy is gaining mass and conversely a body radiating energy is losing mass. It can be calculated that the sun is losing mass at the rate of 250,000,000 tons a minute. Because of the relationship of mass and energy, it is probably best to combine the two conservation laws. The new law would be expressed as the law of conservation of mass and energy.

When one considers the enormous number of stars in the universe, the total amount of energy poured out is unimaginable. Our solar system is located in a group of stars called the Milky Way, an aggregation of billions of suns. The general shape of the Milky Way is that of a discus, but with a dense center core and enormous spiral arms extending into the void. The diameter of this immense system is estimated at about 100,000 light years. Our Earth is 30,000 light years from its center. As smaller companions of the Milky Way there are a number of globular clusters and two shapeless clusters, known as the Magellanic Clouds. The whole assembly is referred to as The Galaxy. The description of the shape of the Milky Way is partly guess. It is like trying to describe a forest from an observation post in the middle. But the guesses seem to be borne out by the presence of a great number of similar objects in the sky. The nearest of these is in the constellation of Andromeda, about 700,000 light years distant. Tremendous though these dimensions seem to be, it appears that these two galaxies are part of a larger system containing probably seventeen spiral nebulae and with a diameter of 1,500,000 light years. Other and even larger systems are known. The total number of galaxies visible to our largest telescope is estimated as

[7] *Ibid.*, 54, 55.

about one trillion, the most distant of which appear to be of the order of two billion light years distant. A noteworthy feature about the galaxies is that they are all moving away from us; and the more distant they are, the faster they are receding. These rates are tremendous. The galaxies at a distance of two billion light years appear to be moving 70,000 miles per second, which is about 40% of the speed of light.

The evidence for this conclusion is the so-called "red shift" in the light from such nebulae. When the light from a nearby star is examined in a spectroscope, there is obtained a band of light consisting of the colors of the spectrum, crossing which there are numerous black bands. The spectra from these distant nebulae contain the same bands but they are shifted toward the red (or long) end of the spectrum. This is explained as a phenomenon like that of the Doppler effect in acoustics. The sound from a body receding from an observer is at a lower pitch than it would sound to an observer traveling with the sounding body. Everyone has encountered this phenomenon when meeting in a car with the horn sounding and which is moving in the opposite direction. Other reasons have been suggested for the red shift, but the majority of astronomers and astrophysicists believe that the rapid recession of the galaxies is real.

But all this is incidental to the main point, which is that the stars are pouring out an enormous amount of energy. Some of this energy must reach us — and it is believed by many that the cosmic rays are manifestations of that energy. Incidentally, there may be mentioned the "radio stars." It has been observed that radio waves impinge on the earth from various regions in space. In most cases there do not appear to be visible stars in these regions. These radio waves do not form any set pattern; so they do not appear to be originated by other intelligences.

The fourth chapter of *The Mysterious Universe* is titled "Relativity and the Ether." When it was realized that the properties of radiation could best be described by assuming that they are wave motions, the mechanical idea of the universe demanded that there be some medium in which the waves could undulate. As a matter of fact, whenever a problem in physics involving action at a distance arose, an ether with appropriate properties was invented. This being illogical, the number of ethers was finally reduced to one — but one with truly remarkable properties. It pervaded everything, was undisturbed by anything in motion, and had no mass. yet was able to transmit radiation and permitted instantaneous action at a distance. A body with these properties should be detectable, and the famous Michelson-Morley experiment was designed to this end. If the Earth is moving through a sea of ether, light should travel at different speeds, depending on whether it moves in the direction of the Earth's motion or at right angles to it. Jeans likens the conditions to an oarsman rowing a hundred years upstream, then returning, verses an oarsman going across the stream and returning. The latter would require less time. In the Michelson-Morley experiment, the times required for light to travel two equal paths at right angles to each other were determined. They were exactly the same. When the apparatus

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was rotated through 90°, in order to compensate for any differences in the length of the paths, the time was still the same. The conclusion would have to be that the Earth is standing still in the ether, or that there is no ether. Since it was known that the Earth is moving, we were forced to conclude that the ether is non-existent.

But the ether was not dead yet. It would seem that the Michelson-Morley experiment had vanquished it. But it was saved temporarily by an ingenious argument, advanced by Fitzgerald and Lorentz independently. The suggestion advanced by them can best be explained by assuming that the course the light traveled was measured with a rule. The question asked by Fitzgerald and Lorentz was "How is it known that the length of the measuring rule remains the same while moving forward in the ether?" Jeans uses the example of a ship moving through the ocean. The ship would be compressed between the water and the bow and the screw thrusting the ship forward. Thus, the ruler moving with the ether would be shorter, and the distance shorter, so that there would be some compensation for the disadvantage of the up and down course. It is possible that if the contraction were of the right magnitude, exact compensation would be attained. Calculations, using certain theories then current, showed that such a contraction would occur. This argument not only negated the Michelson-Morley experiment but it doomed any future efforts. However, measurements can be made using non-material measuring devices — for example, electromagnetic waves. In spite of all efforts to do so, the ether was never detected. Sir James puts it in the following way:

> If the Earth had a speed x through the ether, every apparatus that the wit of man could devise confused the measurement of x by adding a spurious speed exactly equal to x.... The upshot of many years arduous experimenting was that the forces of nature seemed without exception to be parties to a perfectly organized conspiracy to cancel the earth's motion through the ether.[8]

In 1905, Einstein proposed the special theory of relativity, which can be stated thus: "Nature is such that it is impossible to determine absolute motion by an experiment."[9]

All of the tremendous conclusions to which the theory of relativity leads cannot be discussed in this review, even if your reviewer were capable of it. According to the tenets of analytic geometry invented by Descartes, a body can be located in space by reference to three mutually perpendicular axes, located as desired. Physics deals with "events" and therefore to describe such an event, a time coordinate "t" must be added to the space coordinates x, y, and z. Thus we say that an event occurs at x, y, z, and at a time indicated by a clock C simultaneous with the event. The concept "simultaneous" was assumed to require no defi-

[8] *Ibid.*, 94.
[9] *Ibid.*, 95.

nition. This seems beyond reproach if one considers the velocity of light as infinite, which is legitimate in ordinary experience. It is, however, actually known to be 3×10^{10} cm./sec., or 186,000 mi./sec. The theory of relativity takes into account the velocity of light in considering the simultaneity of events. Nearly every night it is possible for us to see the effect of ignoring the velocity of light. The stars are at such tremendous distances that their light requires years to reach us. But since they are at *different* distances from us, we actually see the various stars as they existed at *different* times in the past.

Our nearest neighbor is slightly over four light years away and some nebulae are two billion light years distant. Thus, what we see at night is something that at no given moment ever existed! When an astronomer or astrophysicist considers the *structure* of the universe, it is also necessary to take into account the *distances* of the objects under consideration.

Another example may illustrate the principle better. Suppose that two observers have two clocks exactly synchronized. One observer is able to move at a speed one-half that of light. Suppose that he does so for two seconds, carrying one of the clocks with him. When he looks at this clock after his trip, it reads 12:00:02. But if he looks at the clock he left behind, he sees that it reads 12:00:01, because he is seeing the clock as it appeared one second ago. On the other hand, consider the observer who remained behind. When his clock reads 12:00:03, he would see that of his peripatetic friend reading 12:00:02. Thus we see that time may be relative. It does not matter that everyday events do not produce differences as observable as those described, the fact is that such phenomena exist. We see, then, that observations are not only concerned with the event but the observer himself.

Certain other conclusions obtain from the theory of relativity. It requires that a body in motion have increased mass — small, to be sure, unless the velocity approaches that of light. It equates mass and energy in the famous equation $E = mc^2$ in which m is the rest mass and c the velocity of light. According to this equation, mass is convertible into energy. So far, we have not been able to do so at will. It is, however, the basis for the fission bombs, in which a portion of the original mass is converted into energy. The theory of relativity calls for a "curvature" in space in the region of matter.

In spite of the theoretical differences between Einstein's theory and the Newtonian concept, there are few differences in application. It was therefore quite difficult to discover tests which would reveal which idea is correct. Three have been found and all have given results in favor of relativity. There are: (1) the distortion of the elliptical orbits of the planets — confirmed in the case of Mercury; (2) the deviation of light rays near a large mass — confirmed in solar eclipses; and (3) shifting of the spectral lines toward the red end of the spectrum of light coming to us from stars of considerable mass — confirmed, but subject to other possible explanations.

Let us summarize in a general way what we know and can guess about the structure of the universe. It appears as though the ideas of

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mass and energy as separate entities must be discarded. We have seen that mass — at least electrons and hydrogen atoms — has wave properties, also. Radiation, which has been supposed to consist of a wave motion, has shown to have particulate properties as well. The quantum theory has demonstrated that energy occurs in small particles which are indivisible. It has also thrown doubt on the idea of causality. For this idea, we can substitute the law of probability, which enables us to predict if the number of events is large enough, but does not allow us to make predictions about single events. The theory of relativity tells us that electrical, magnetic, and gravitational forces are not real but inventions of the human mind, as it appears are also the ideas of mass and wave motion which we have cherished. We can describe many events in nature by the use of mathematics, but no physical picture appears to be possible. For example, the wave mechanics of Schrödinger demand that the description of the interaction of two electrons requires seven dimensions, which is unimaginable. We are forced to conclude that we have no recognition of reality, and, so far at least, no way of observing it.

In the last chapter, "Into the Deep Waters," Jeans speculates on the meaning of the new concepts in physics. We shall attempt to follow his reasoning by selected quotations, since Jeans has written it far better than this writer can. His starting point is a suggestion by Bohr that submicroscopic phenomena do not admit of representation in our space-time framework.

1. It is conceivable that happenings entirely outside the continuum determine what we describe as the 'course of events' inside the continuum, and that the apparent indeterminacy of nature may arise merely from our trying to force happenings which occur in many dimensions into a smaller number of dimensions. Imagine, for instance, a race of blind worms, whose perceptions were limited to the two dimensional surface of the Earth. Now and then spots of the Earth would sporadically become wet. We, whose faculties range through three dimensions of space, call the phenomenon a rain shower, and know that events in the third dimension of space determine, absolutely and uniquely, which spots shall become wet and which shall remain dry. But if the worms, unconscious even of the existence of the third dimension of space, tried to thrust all nature into their two-dimensional framework, they would be unable to discover any determinism in the distribution of wet and dry spots; the worm-scientists would only be able to discuss the wetness and dryness of minute areas in terms of probabilities, which they would be tempted to treat as ultimate truth...[10]
2. The essential fact is simply that all the pictures which science now draws of nature, and which alone seem capable of according with observational fact, are mathematical pictures.

[10] *Ibid.*, 133.

3. Many would hold that, from the broad philosophical standpoint, the outstanding achievement of twentieth-century physics is the general recognition that we are not yet in contact with ultimate reality.[11]
4. ...a scientific study of the action of the universe has suggested a conclusion which may be summed up, though very crudely and quite inadequately, because we have no language at our command except that derived from our terrestrial concepts and experiences, in the statement that the universe appears to have been designed by a pure mathematician.[12]
5. ...from the intrinsic evidence of his creation, the Great Architect of the Universe now begins to appear as a pure mathematician.[13]
6. The terrestrial pure mathematician does not concern himself with material substance, but with pure thought. His creations are not only created by thought but consist of thought.[14]
7. The true label is, I think, mathematical; if we can agree that this is to connote the whole of pure thought, and not merely something as to how they behave.
8. The label we have selected does not, of course, relegate matter into the category of hallucination or dreams. The material universe remains as substantial as ever it was, and this statement must, I think, remain true through all changes of scientific or philosophical thought.[15]
9. We may think of the laws to which phenomena conform in our waking hours, the laws of nature, as the laws of thought of a universal mind. The uniformity of nature proclaims the self-consistency of this mind.[16]
10. This concept of the universe as a world of pure thought throws a new light on many of the situations we have encountered in our survey of modern physics. We can now see how the ether, in which all the events of the universe take place, could be reduced to a mathematical abstraction. We can also see why energy, the fundamental entity of the universe, had again to be treated as a mathematical abstraction — the constant of integration of a differential equation.[17]
11. ...the same concept implies of course that the final truth about a phenomenon resides in the mathematical description of it. The making of models or pictures to explain mathematical formulas and the phenomena they describe is not a step towards,

[11] *Ibid.*, 135.
[12] *Ibid.*, 140.
[13] *Ibid.*, 144.
[14] *Ibid.*, 145.
[15] *Ibid.*, 148.
[16] *Ibid.*, 150.
[17] *Idem.*

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but a step away from reality; it is like making graven images of a spirit.[18]

12. A mathematical formula can never tell us what a thing is, but only how it behaves.[19]
13. If the universe is a universe of thought, then its creation must have been an act of thought.[20]
14. Modern scientific theory compels us to think of the creator as working outside time and space, which are part of his creation, just as the artist is outside his canvas.[21]
15. The man of science is accustomed to the reproach that he changes his views all the time, with the accompanying implication that what he says need not be taken too seriously. It is no true reproach that in exploring the river of knowledge he occasionally goes down a backwater instead of continuing along the main stream; no explorer can be sure that a backwater is such, and nothing more, until he has been down it. What is more serious, and beyond the control of the explorer, is that the river is a winding one.[22]
16. The universe looks more like a great thought than a great machine.[23]

Your reviewer may as well conclude by saying that your interpretation of the universe and its workings is probably as good as that of anybody else. Perhaps further knowledge will cause the pendulum of opinion to swing back to a mechanical interpretation, but it is difficult to see how. Only the future can tell.

[18] *Ibid.*, 150, 151.
[19] *Ibid.*, 151, 152.
[20] *Ibid.*, 154.
[21] *Ibid.*, 155.
[22] *Ibid.*, 156, 157.
[23] *Ibid.*, 158.

THE DEATH OF VARGAS

By J. V. D. SAUNDERS

Introduction

The suicide of Getulio Dornelles Vargas, President of the United States of Brazil, on the morning of August 24, 1954, shocked Brazil and the world, and has had a profound influence on the Brazilian scene.

This act of desperation was occasioned at least in part by the unfolding of events in Brazil, particularly during August, 1954. It was this fateful month in Brazilian history that saw the occurrence of the famous "Toneleros"[1] case, and the subsequent events leading to the deposition of Vargas and his extreme gesture.

Although the present paper does not purport to be a political or historical analysis of Vargas' death and of the background factors involved in it, a few points which may help clarify and give meaning to the description of events herein contained, may be mentioned. One of these is the role of the army as a stabilizing and moderating force in the conflict among political factions, exercising its power to prevent extremism whether of the left or of the right, in an immature political system. Thus, in 1945 it forced the end of the Vargas dictatorship, and in 1954 it applied the brakes to a strong trend toward a demagogic, mob-appeal socialism, or perhaps even communism.

Among the factors which disturbed the conservative elements in the Brazilian political scene, was Vargas' demagogic appeal to nationalistic sentiments which he used to win the 1950 presidential election. This quasi-chauvinistic nationalism was implemented in 1952 by a decree placing restrictions on foreign investments and on the repatriation of profits, and in 1953 by the Petrobrás bill, which established a government monopoly for the exploitation of petroleum in Brazil, barring foreign companies and foreign nationals from participating in it.

Under President Eurico Gaspar Dutra (1945-1950), Brazil experienced an efficiently run and truly democratic government. The

[1] This refers to the assassination attempt against journalist Carlos Lacerda, resulting in the death of Air Force Major Vaz, and which occurred on Toneleros Street. In this paper the Toneleros incident will be given rather extensive emphasis because of the influence which it exerted in determining the course of events, and because it is illustrative and symptomatic of the state of affairs which then prevailed in the government of Brazil.

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Vargas regime represented to the conservatives a threat to this hard-earned democracy. Reinforcing this impression was corruption in government, and the participation of members of the outlawed Communist Party in the political affairs of the nation, with the tacit consent of Vargas, who relied upon them for support.

The significance of the attempt on the life of Carlos Lacerda lay in the virulent newspaper campaign he had been conducting against Vargas through the *Tribuna da Imprensa*. The atmosphere of political unrest which then existed, together with the scandalous revelations which it brought to light, served to make it a focal point for the dissatisfaction of the conservative elements in Brazilian political life, and threw it into the national and international limelight.

It is said that Stephan Zweig once asked Vargas if he had many enemies. The answer was typical of the man: "They are not so numerous and they are not so bitter that I cannot make friends of them." There seems to be little doubt that Vargas tried hard to please — to please and help the common people by whom he was elected, and for whom he felt a genuine concern — and to please the ruling classes. It was not always possible of course, to reconcile these two interests with the national good. It is indeed alleged that he spent so much time trying to please diverse groups and factions that he had no time or energies left to conceive and execute effective governmental programs. Perhaps the Vargas regime was best characterized by the *Gegenwart*, successor to the famous *Frankfurter Zeitung:*

> His social policy corresponded to the world crisis of 1929. The democratic constitution of 1934 followed the mould of the Spanish constitution of that time. The fascist constitution which he enacted in 1937 was an imitation of the Polish one. His alliance with the communists in 1945 was a reflection of Russian influence at that moment. Never did the President have an original Brazilian idea. [2]

Perhaps Vargas' originality lay precisely in his lack of an adherence to any one political or social philosophy. No "ism" can be associated with his name. Possessing a flexible and highly intelligent mind, he ruled above all according to the necessities of the moment. He was a master of the expedient measure.

It has been evident for some time to the discriminating observer that a profound state of unrest has existed in Brazil since at least 1951. In that year and since then, a series of public disturbances have occurred, having roots in the deep dissatisfaction, especially in urban areas, resulting from an ever-increasing cost of living, and difficulties caused by inadequate transportation, electricity and water supply, to mention only a few of the many vexations to which the urban dweller in Brazil is subjected. These were further aggravated

[2] Quoted in *Correio da Manhã*, Rio, September 1, 1954.

by a runaway inflation. This inflation had as its immediate causes over expansion of credit, and painful as it may be to admit it, the pure and simple fabrication of banknotes by the printing press. "Brazil moves backward one step during the day, and two steps forward during the night when everyone sleeps," is perhaps more than just a saying... for progress in the postwar period has been quite as spectacular as the press would have us believe.

It was then into this charged atmosphere of political unrest and economic crisis, paradoxically in the middle of one of Brazil's greatest periods of expansion, that the Toneleros incident was projected.

The Toneleros Case

At 12:45 a.m. on August 5, 1954, in front of 180 Toneleros Street, in Rio's Copacabana suburb, all hell broke loose. After the shooting subsided, Air Force Major Ruben Florentino Vaz lay dying, a policeman lay wounded in the leg, and Carlos Lacerda newspaper editor and virulent critic of the administration had been wounded in the foot. The impact of the incident, due to its implications and consequences was immediately felt in all Brazil. A wave of rumors swept the country, including that of the revolt of the Air Force and the fall of the Vargas government. Air Brigadier Eduardo Gomes, at the hospital to which Major Vaz had been taken, declared: "For the honor of the nation, we trust that this crime will not go unpunished."

Investigations were indeed carried out with considerable alacrity and efficiency. Soon after the incident the driver of the getaway car, Nelson Raimundo de Souza, was apprehended. Under repeated questioning by police authorities, he finally confessed his participation in the crime. Witnessing this confession, among others, were the Minister of Justice (Tancredo Neves) and Colonel Adil of the Air Force. Souza named Climério Euribes de Almeida, member of the Presidential Guard as one of the men involved in the attempt.

This revelation occasioned the greatest man-hunt in Brazilian annals. Meanwhile the Air Force had established a Police Military Inquiry (Inquérito Policial Militar or I. P. M.) to investigate the case, based on the provision of law that permits such an inquiry where a "military crime" is involved. Since the weapon used by the gunman was a .45 automatic (a weapon restricted to the use of the armed forces) this possibility was admitted. The government and Vargas himself gave full support to the investigation.

After a 21-hour hunt, police and Air Force officers and men, aided by two P-40 airplanes, two helicopters, 26 cars belonging to Air Force personnel, guns, machine guns and bloodhounds, flushed Climério out of a banana grove some 200 kilometres from the Federal District. On being apprehended he declared: "I am disgraced. I am going to tell the whole story. Those in whom I most trusted betrayed me."

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The story which he told was indeed fascinating. The gunman who shot Lacerda, Major Vaz and the policeman, was one Alcino João do Nascimento, whom it was discovered, had shot and killed a man on March 1, 1954, at the request of one José Antonio Soares. Soares it turned out, was also involved in the Toneleros case, in which he performed the function of pay-off man furnishing 50,000 cruzeiros for the performance of the crime. João Valente de Sousa, sub-chief of the Presidential Guard, was also involved in the crime, aiding Climério to escape and warning Soares of impending danger. Central figure in the whole affair was Gregório Fortunato, Chief of the Palace Guard, who gave orders for the execution of the crime, instructing Climério to make arrangements for it, financing the venture and helping in the escape of the criminals.

At this point a brief mention of the backgrounds of the various characters in this drama seems in order. Although incomplete, the data that follows is rather interesting.

Gregório Fortunato, Chief of the Presidential Guard, had known and served Vargas for some thirty years, having fought in 1930 under Colonel Benjamin Vargas, brother of the President.

Climério Euribes de Almeida, like Gregório, was from Rio Grande do Sul, where he was well known to police as he was in the State of Rio de Janeiro and in the Federal District. He is accused of killing his father-in-law, of having illegal dealings with the Brazilian equivalent of the numbers racket, and of kidnapping and maltreating newspaperman Hélio Sodré in 1942. He was brought to Rio by "influential politicians." There he entered the civil police force, and finally obtained a position on the Presidential Guard under the auspices of Gregório. Apparently he has known the Vargas family for many years. After the 1945 coup he went to Vargas's ranch at Itú, Rio Grande do Sul, returning in 1950.

José Antonio Soares is noted for criminal activity of many kinds, among these being those of "confidence man" and counterfeiter. He possessed a card giving him access to Catête, the Presidential Palace.

Warrants for the arrest of these men were soon issued, and they were taken to the Galeão Air Force Base on Governor's Island, in the Bay of Guanabara. There a period of intense questioning of these men and a host of other witnesses ensued. Every consideration was given the prisoners. There were even complaints that they were being treated too well. Every measure was taken to protect the prisoners from an attack on the Air Force base. This attack was not expected from the public, who was giving the Air Force complete support, but from the "governist" faction of the army, then under the command of General Zenóbio da Costa as Minister of War. Dynamite was assembled to blow up the bridge linking Governor's Island with the mainland, and two C-47's were kept fueled and their motors started every 15 minutes, ready to take off to a remote airstrip in the Amazon, accessible only by air. There questioning would proceed as if nothing had happened.

As the investigation wore on, initial suspicion directed against Lutero Vargas and Benjamin Vargas (nicknamed *Beijo* or Kiss), son and brother of the President, were proved unwarranted. Two other men were, however, accused as instigators of the crime: General Angelo Mendes de Moraes, ex-mayor of the Federal District, and Federal Deputy Euvaldo Lodi, from the State of Minas Gerais. As soon as the name of General Mendes de Moraes became involved in the investigation, the Police Military Inquiry was turned over to General Fiuza de Castro, due to the inability of Colonel Adil to interrogate a superior officer.

The accusation against Mendes de Moraes came from two sources: Gregório, and one José Alcides known as the White Rose (he is black as the ace of spades), a name under which he has published several sambas. Alcides was in charge of the prefecture's garages, and was chauffeur to Mendes de Moraes when the latter was mayor of the Federal District. Alcides tells of being asked by Mendes de Moraes on several occasions to assassinate Lacerda. He refused, and worried about these proposals, told Inspector Cecil Borer of the Division of Political and Social Police about them. Borer later testified corroborating Alcides's testimony.

After the conclusion of the Police Military Inquiry, the investigation was moved to the Division of Technical Police, and there in effect repeated. This was done because the Police Military Inquiry although legal, had no validity before the law, and in order to secure a check on previous testimony. At the same time the prisoners were removed from Galeão Air Force Base to the Federal District jail.

Testifying at the Division of Technical Police, Gregório accused Mendes de Moraes of having been first to instigate him against Lacerda. According to his testimony he was approached by Mendes de Moraes in April 1954 at the Rio Negro Palace, in Petrópolis. He was questioned about Lacerda's journalistic campaign, and Lacerda's attacks against the government were especially emphasized. Gregório reported that he was urged by Mendes de Moraes to kill Lacerda in the following words: "Gregório, you are the minister of defense[3] this man is going to lead the nation into a civil war, and you are the only person responsible for the misfortunes that may overcome the nation. You must 'fix-up' this man." The general is then said to have spoken for some ten more minutes with great vehemence in the same vein, so that Gregório became greatly impressed, above all because the general had placed upon his shoulders the responsibility of a real minister of defense, an expression he had never heard before. Having perceived the meaning of this term, and since it was said by a man of the position of Mendes de Moraes, he was not only flattered but made proud by the responsibility that was placed on his shoulders. Gregório reported that Mendes de Moraes' words made a great im-

[3]Brazil has no minister of defense. The equivalent official to the U. S. Minister of Defense is the Minister of War.

pression on his mind, and that he thought about them for a long time, feeling that his responsibility was enormous. It was as a result of this conversation that he gave Climério orders to assassinate the newspaperman. Gregório also testified that on a second occasion, a luncheon given for President Vargas in Petrópolis, he again saw Mendes de Moraes who asked him how things were coming along, and who said he had "someone after Lacerda" "to give him a bullet" (presumably Alcides). To this Gregório replied, "let's see who gets there first."

Mendes de Moraes testified to having been present at the places mentioned by Gregório, and having conversed with him on those occasions. He denied, however, the accusation.

Gregório also testified that he had been sought out by one Roberto Alves, ex-private secretary to Vargas and speaker for the *Radio Nacional*. Alves told him that Deputy Euvaldo Lodi was indignant at Carlos Lacerda and had asked him to request Gregório to "bomb" the newspaperman. Some two days later, when Gregório was in his room at Catête (the Presidential Palace), Roberto Alves and Euvaldo Lodi came in to see him, touching on the Lacerda question in a very roundabout manner. Some two or three days later, Lodi returned alone and proposed point-blank that one of Gregório's men take care of Lacerda. Gregório answered that he was a man of responsibility and would not be involved in such a matter. Lodi then became nervous and slapped a gun that he had in his pocket and said that if Gregório would not do it, he would do it himself. To this Gregório replied, "be calm, Dr. Lodi," for he had already arranged for Climério to execute the crime.

At about that time, since Climério was delaying in the execution of the crime (the gunmen were unsuccessful on several occasions), and since Mendes de Moraes had said he had a man on the job, Gregório considered calling off the whole business. However, on thinking about it, and especially of what Mendes de Moraes had said about his responsibility to the national security, and seeing the interest demonstrated "by so many important people," he decided to let the business proceed. The "Black Angel of Catête" went on to say that he confessed because he did not want to be considered less of a man than the others involved in the crime, and who had already confessed; because he didn't want anyone to think he had acted for money (this was beneath him); and because he had acted in what he believed to be the national interest in performing his duty as defined by Mendes de Moraes.

Gregório's testimony about Lodi was confirmed by Roberto Alves to the extent of the latter's participation. Gregório repeated the same testimony at the Police Military Inquiry, at the Division of Technical Police, and at the trial before the civil court or court of common law (*Justiça Comun*).

Just as fascinating as the revelations of the inquiry and trial itself, are the discoveries which were made incidental to this investigation, concerning the multifarious activities of the "Black Angel" of

Catête Palace. Gregório has managed on a modest salary to accumulate a vast amount of money. Eighty thousand cruzeiros (US $4,000 at the official exchange rate) were found in the pockets of one of his suits in his room at the Palace. This amount Gregório explained, he had forgotten about.

Only a short and incomplete listing of Gregório's activities will be given here. These included pay-offs he received from numbers racket operators, illegal trade in automobiles and cocaine, and influence peddling on a magnificent scale. He received money in large amounts and for no good reason, from government agencies, and paid his household bills from the Guard budget. Two days before the Toneleros incident, he made out a power of attorney to a Mr. Lull for the importation of wheat. He owns large chunks of real estate in Rio and elsewhere. The Police Military Inquiry arrived at the conclusion that he was worth at least thirty million cruzeiros — on a salary of ten thousand cruzeiros per month.

Among the many documents that were apprehended by the Air Force in Gregório's room at Catête Palace is an amazing collection of requests for influence, birthday and New Year greetings, and just plain "bread and butter" letters from an assortment of personalities including Ricardo Jaffet, director of the Bank of Brazil, Victor Costa, director of the *Radio Nacional*, Oscar Stevenson, criminal lawyer and president of an important social security institute, General Ancora, Chief of Police, and José de Castro Carvalho, São Paulo politician. It is not in vain that Gregório was called a "minister without portfolio."

The state of affairs that then existed, could not have been better expressed than in the closing paragraphs of the summary report of the Police Military Inquiry (I. P. M.):

> The content of the proofs annexed revealed the existence of an advanced process of corruption in the bosom of the government. . . . The I. P. M. brought to light a copious collection of marginal derelictions, practiced by persons who lived sheltered by the government. Instituted for the investigation of crimes against persons, it [the I. P. M.] uncovered crimes against the [national] patrimony, crimes against public faith and crimes against public administration. The latter, in an impressive sequence, produced a profound impression on public opinion, with inevitable reflexions on the dignity of the government from which the criminals drew authority and prestige. And in this connection we believe it to be our duty to here record the statement of the late President of the Republic, Dr. Getúlio Vargas on being informed of the facts uncovered: 'I have the impression that I am over a sea of mud.'[4]

[4] *O Livro Negro da Corrupção*, O Globo, Edição Extraordinária, Rio, n.d., p. 30.

A Revolution of Agreement Among Friends

It is not easy nor simple to reconstruct from fragmentary newspaper reports, magazine articles and hearsay, the exact chain of events that lead to Vargas's deposition and suicide. The following account is therefore subject to correction. The writer does feel, however, that he has been able to paint a reasonably accurate picture of the momentous events of August, 1954.

At that time popular dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs had for some time been at a high peak. This dissatisfaction was reflected and shared by a large segment of the nation's political and military leaders. The attempt to impeach Vargas early in 1954 is a case in point. Interestingly, it was not successful because, and this deserves emphasis, no grounds upon which to impeach Vargas could be found. Although wittingly and unwittingly an accessory to irregularities of all kinds practiced by those who lived under his protective wings, he himself managed to remain above the practices which so incensed public opinion, and no accusation could be made directly against him.

The case of newspaperman Nestor Moreira, who was beaten to death by police, also served as a focus of dissatisfaction, leading some to call upon the armed forces for the deposition of Vargas. The Toneleros case, was in a way the straw that broke the camel's back — involving as it did members of the Presidential Guard and uncovering the celebrated "sea of mud" that flowed through the ground floor of Catête Palace, where Gregório and Valente had their quarters.

The Toneleros case made a profound impression on public opinion. It gave rise to mass demonstrations after the funeral of Major Vaz. Mobs roamed the streets setting fire to a loudspeaker-equipped automobile that was campaigning for Vargas' Brazilian Labor Party (P. T. B.). Campaign posters for Lutero Vargas, son of the President, who was running for federal deputy and was initially suspected of being an instigator of the crime, were torn down by the irate populace. Police and shock troops were necessary to maintain order.

The Air Force, composed in general of younger men of an idealistic bent, took the situation in hand as has been seen, conducting with efficiency and dispatch the Police Military Inquiry that lead to the solution of the Toneleros case. In a way, the Air Force was involved in the case even before the Toneleros attempt. It was known to some high-ranking Air Force officers that some younger members of that branch of the armed forces were accompanying Lacerda. This was indeed being done, against the counsel of Lacerda himself, as a protective measure. The numerous attempts of which Lacerda had been the victim were well known, and Major Vaz and his friends who were wont to accompany the newspaperman thought that by so doing they would extend to him through their uniform a measure of protection.

Thinking that this was a dangerous situation, likely to cause difficulty, Air Force Brigadier Epaminondas Gomes dos Santos, felt

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especially concerned, and warned members of the Vargas family of the danger inherent in the situation. Brigadier Nero Moura, then Minister of Aeronautics, was requested to do something about it. That official replied that he could do nothing because the officers in question were accompanying Lacerda in their spare time. Epaminondas then requested that he transfer the officers who behaved in this manner to other states. This Nero Moura refused to do, alleging that they would be substituted by others, and that if the others were transferred, they would again be substituted and so forth.

On August 5, as has been seen, these suspicions were confirmed by the tragedy which occurred on Toneleros Street. During the days following, the then Minister of Justice, Tancredo Neves took a series of steps designed to discover the persons responsible for the crime. He designated a representative of his ministry, government trial lawyer Cordeiro Guerra, to accompany the police inquiry. He asked the Ministry of Aeronautics to designate an officer for the same purpose. This officer, Colonel João Adil de Oliveira later became president of the Police Military Inquiry. Tancredo Neves then ordered the Chief of Police to aid and cooperate in every way possible with the Inquiry. The government through the Ministry of Justice released a note in which it assumed before the public the responsibility for discovering the guilty parties and turning them over to the law, no matter who they may be, and without being influenced by personal, social or political considerations.

On August 9, the Air Force brigadiers held their first meeting at the Ministry of Aeronautics. Brigadier Nero Moura told those present that he had orders from the President to assure all the Air Force that the government was committed to find and punish everyone responsible for the crime no matter whom it might hurt.

On the same day (August 9) the Minister of Justice went to Catête Palace to request the President to dissolve the Presidential Guard. The President asked for the opinion of General Caiado de Castro (Chief of the Military Section of the Presidency of the Republic, sort of an advisory and liaison position), who backed up the arguments of the Minister of Justice, and the Guard was dissolved immediately.

On August 10, Nelson Raimundo de Souza, driver of the car which carried the gunman in the Toneleros incident confessed, accusing Climério Euribes de Almeida of being involved. It was at this stage of the proceedings that the Air Force thought of the institution of a Police Military Inquiry, making use of the special legislation pertaining to the Armed Forces, and of its resources that could be used to uncover the criminals.

Also on August 10, a meeting was held during which it was decided that Brigadier Eduardo Gomes, the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, the Minister of the Navy, the Chief of Staff of the Army and General Juarez Távora, would request an audience with the Minister of War (Zenóbio da Costa) in order to suggest to him that he go and ask Vargas to resign. This Zenóbio da Costa refused to do, further

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informing the officers present (larger in number than the original committee) that if they tried anything he would "react." Zenóbio also sent word to Vargas not to resign, for he would back him up. Thus the split in the army was made evident.

About August 18, Vargas was sought out by Café Filho, who proposed to him a double resignation — that of the President and Vice President. As a result the President of the Chamber of Deputies would assume the Presidency, and then, according to constitutional precepts would convene Congress to choose a new president to fill out the term. Vargas on hearing this proposal once again expressed his unshakable decision: he would not resign, and he would only leave Catête Palace dead.

On Saturday, August 21, there was another meeting of Air Force officers at the Aeronautic Club. To this meeting were read summary reports of the results achieved by the Police Military Inquiry. Another meeting was set for the following day, Sunday, August 22. At this meeting two proposals were made. One put forth by Brigadier Coelho, was to wait for the end of the Police Military Inquiry before reaching any decisions. This proposal was approved by five other brigadiers. Another proposal, which he had prepared beforehand and brought with him to the meeting, was made by Brigadier Eduardo Gomes. This document, calling for Vargas's resignation won the approval of those present, and became known as the "Brigadier's Manifesto."

On Monday, August 23, the crisis was assuming very serious proportions. Tancredo Neves, Minister of Justice, suggested to Vargas the imprisonment of the rebellious brigadiers and the declaration of a stage of siege. This proposal was not accepted since it was believed that it would kill more than it would cure. On this same day, General Juarez Távora and other officers, began to circulate a petition for Vargas's resignation. Before long, thirty-seven of the eighty army generals in Rio had signed the petition, and others had expressed their support verbally. Zenóbio da Costa, Minister of War and ever loyal to Vargas, considered the situation very serious, for in the meantime the Navy had joined the Air Force in demanding Vargas's resignation, and so only a segment of the Army remained loyal. Zenóbio believed that he could still fight but he could not be sure of victory.

On the morning of August 24, at approximately 2 a.m., a cabinet meeting was held at Catête Palace, called by Vargas to reach a decision in view of the crisis. This meeting was attended by all the cabinet ministers as well as a number of other people.

Vargas entered the room according to one report, looking "a little thinner than usual, although he was in good form, not showing any paleness or any change of expression or voice that might reflect an inner conflict."

Vargas asked for the opinion of the military ministers first, starting with the Minister of War. Zenóbio explained that the position

of the army was very delicate and the situation serious, but that he would "react" if that decision was made. He emphasized, however, that there would be a great deal of bloodshed as a result.

The Minister of the Navy, having no real authority because the Navy had already taken sides with the Air Force, declared that the Navy did not consider rebellion nor the deposition of the President, but had already committed itself to the Air Force viewpoint. The Air Minister was likewise impotent to take any action. Vargain maintained an unchanged countenance, as if he had anticipated the entire thing. Then the civilian ministers spoke. Some argued for resignation, one minister suggested the question be submitted to Congress and that the state governors be called upon for their opinions. This was abandoned as an idea, due to the lack of constitutional basis and time. It became evident that no agreement was being reached. Vargas then asked each to restate his position asking that the opinion expressed be definite. He wanted to make a decision that would represent a summary of the opinion of the cabinet. "He showed some impatience, looking at the ceiling as if he were accompanying with his eyes the spiral of smoke of his infallible cigar, that at that moment failed to inspire him."

The various ministers by and large reiterated their previous positions. Alzira Vargas do Amarel Peixoto, daughter of the President, urged General Zenóbio to resist. Manuel Vargas, son of the President, and Secretary of Government for Rio Grande do Sul, made the same appeal, assuring those present that Rio Grande do Sul would give support to legality. Deputy Danton Coelho also spoke in favor of reaction. General Caiado de Castro then spoke up emphasizing how disastrous a precedent would be set for the constitutional mechanisms of the country, by the resignation of the President. Before he finished speaking General Zenóbio offered him a command for the organization of resistance, and it was immediately accepted. At this moment, Governor Amaral Peixoto (husband of Alzira Vargas) proposed the leave of absence as a conciliatory solution. At that Vargas adjourned the meeting saying according to one version, "Since you have not arrived at a decision, I declare that I accept the leave of absence. But if you come to depose me, you will find my body." Another version renders it thus: "Since the cabinet cannot arrive at a decision, I shall decide. I order the military ministers to maintain public order. If they are successful I shall request a leave of absence. Otherwise the revolutionaries will find my body here at the Palace." However it may have been worded, General Zenóbio left the room intending to arrest the revolting generals and organize resistance. He was stopped at the steps of the Palace by Oswaldo Aranha, who brought him back to the cabinet meeting room.

A second meeting of the cabinet then took place in the absence of Vargas, for the purpose of composing the note by which he would request a leave of absence, and state his motives for so doing. The Armed Forces were of course, anxiously awaiting the result of the

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cabinet meeting. The note was prepared and Oswaldo Aranha took it to Vargas who made corrections. Each military minister received a copy of the note, to be read to the Land, Sea and Air officers.

A meeting of the Army generals took place after the cabinet meeting which ended at about 5 a.m. on August 24. At this meeting it was decided that Vargas would not return to power, and that his leave of absence would become permanent. General Zenóbio reluctantly agreed to this, in order to avert the civil war which most probably would have followed otherwise. It was indeed as Brigadier Epaminondas Comes dos Santos put it, a "revolution of agreement among friends."

The news of the generals decision was carried to Catête Palace by General Moraes Ancora, then Chief of Police. Between 8:15 and 8:20 a.m., Benjamin Vargas went to wake his brother who was asleep, in order to give him the news. According to report, on being told of the decision taken by the generals, Vargas asked, "Then it means I have been deposed?" to which Benjamin answered, "I don't know whether you are deposed, but it's the end." Vargas then sent Benjamin away on an errand.

The Suicide

One Pedro Lourenço Barbosa, Vargas's valet and barber, was the last man to see him alive and the first to enter the room after the fatal shot. This gentleman informs that on the morning of the 24th of August, knowing of the seriousness of the situation, he decided to go to Catête Palace earlier than usual in case his services became necessary. In the morning, he heard the bell that called the servants of the President, and went to Vargas's room. Vargas was sitting on the edge of the bed looking perfectly normal. "What time is it?" he asked. "It's 7:45," answered Barbosa. "Call Benjamin," Vargas said. Barbosa next entered the room shortly after Benjamin had left, soon after the latter must have told Vargas of the generals' decision. Perhaps Vargas had already decided to kill himself, and Barbosa was in the way, for Vargas said to him "in a strange voice," "What are you doing there?" rather than greeting him in his customary cheerful tones. Barbosa answered that he was arranging clothes for the presser (one of his regular morning duties), and Vargas replied, "Very well. Let me rest a little." Barbosa left the room and seconds later heard the shot and ran back into the room followed by those present, including members of the Vargas family. Getulio Vargas was dead. It was 8:30 a.m.

The examination of the body by police experts, revealed a large burnt area around the hole left by the bullet in the pajamas as well as residues of nitrate on his hands. The bullet was lodged just under the skin of the back, on the right side, having gone through the heart. Powder burns on his left hand indicated that he must have used it to aim the gun and localize the heart, at one and the same time. Since the gun was of small caliber, it was especially important not to miss.

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The reasons that may have lead to Vargas's dramatic decision, needless to say will never really be known. Some considerations that may be reasonably supposed to have influenced him may however, be set forth. First: the personal disillusionment which he undoubtedly felt on learning of the abuse of confidence practiced by Gregório whom he had known and trusted for some thirty years, (not necessarily first in order of importance). Second: his humiliation at being deposed from the presidency. Initially he had planned to resist at all costs to the bitter end. Oswaldo Aranha, Benjamin Vargas and himself formulated a secret pact of resistance, pledging to die together. They would defend the President and the office against anyone who came to depose him. Machine gun nests were placed strategically around the palace grounds. Arms and ammunition were available to all the palace staff. Evidently, he had a change of heart. He was though, as he had often said, going to die President — as indeed he did. Third: perhaps also influencing his decision was the realization that as an ordinary citizen he would have to stand the further humiliation of testifying at the inquiry and trial revolving around the Toneleros case. Only he could have cleared up a number of points relating to that case. Most important though, in the opinion of those close to him, was the fact of deposition.

The details of his lying in state and burial, statistics about the number of people who passed in front of the casket, and the number of women who fainted will not be gone into. Suffice it to say that his body was transported to São Borja, Rio Grande do Sul by plane the next day, and that there he was buried in the family plot.

The news of his death shook Brazil and filled the people with consternation and genuine grief. Mass demonstrations were again seen in the streets of Rio. Inflamed by the virulent letter found in Vargas's room after his death and spurred on by communists, crowds attacked the American Embassy, offices of U. S. companies, the Ministry of Aeronautics, opposition newspapers, and tore down campaign posters of the National Democratic Union (U. D. N.). Order was quickly restored by army and police units. Only in Porto Alegre, capital of Vargas's home state of Rio Grande do Sul, did riots continue for a few days. Most significant in these demonstrations was the effective and open rabble-rousing carried out by known communists. Some one hundred of these landed in jail.

The Suicide Notes

A few words deserve to be said at this point concerning the two notes that were supposedly left by Vargas. One of these was handwritten and signed note which simply said "To the wrath of my enemies I leave the legacy of my death. I carry with me the sorrow of not having been able to do for the humble all that I desired." There is no doubt concerning its authenticity. The other note, a kind of manifesto, was typewritten. This is the "suicide note" that received such

wide publicity. It was the accusations against the "domination and espoliation of economic financial international groups" found in this letter that were so ably exploited by communists leading the irate populace into anti-U. S. demonstrations. It is upon the authenticity of this letter that serious doubt is cast. Some of the arguments in favor of this contention may be summarized as follows, keeping in mind the fact that Vargas did not know how to type. 1. Every indication is that Vargas intended to resist to the death, and die in a blaze of glory. The decision to kill himself must have been made at the last minute. 2. The letter must have been prepared on August 23rd or before, for Vargas had no time to write it after his cabinet meeting. This in its turn is inconsistent with the probability that his suicide was a last minute decision. 3. If Vargas had already written such a long and virulent letter, why should he have troubled to pen a short note as well? 4. Assuming that he did write and sign the letter, he must have dictated it to someone, and it certainly was necessary to use a typewriter. It has proved impossible to locate either typist or machine. 5. Reenforcing these arguments is the fact that the original copy of the letter was not submitted to police for analysis. Only a photostatic copy which is inadequate for those purposes was submitted. 6. The letter contains errors and inaccuracies in its language. One word, *obstaculado* ("obstaculated"), does not exist in Portuguese any more than it does in English. These are things which Dr. Vargas, a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters and a highly educated man, could not be expected to do even *in extremis*. 7. The letter contains accusations that are false, and whose falsity can be easily verified. Vargas would not have exposed himself to *post mortem* accusations of being a liar. 8. It may be considered as odd that in a six hundred word farewell epistle no mention was made of family and many loyal friends. 9. Finally, the letter, vindictive and bitter, was inconsistent with Vargas's personality. The short note quoted above is like him, but not the letter.

On this same subject, Pedro Lourenço Barbosa, Vargas's valet and barber, has some interesting things to say. That citizen testifying before the police declared that he

> estimated at five minutes the time elapsed between his discovery of the suicide of the President and the occasion when, returning to the room he observed on the bedside table the white envelope to which he is referring; that in the time elapsed not only the members of the family... but also other persons who were on the first and second floors came to the room; (that) he did not notice exactly who these persons were, being able only to say that they "were a world of people..."; that he believes that there was no typewriter in the President's office; that he does not know whether any member of the Vargas family knew how to type;... that when the working hours of the *Casa Civil* (secretariat) were over, he believes that no one could have

> done the typing for the President, for that was the business of the secretariat...; that sometime later (after he first entered the room on hearing the shot) feeling a little calmer, he observed that on the President's bedside table there was a white envelope of the usual size, and it also seems to him a folded piece of paper; that on the previous times that he entered the room and seeing the scene he described, he also did not notice the envelope and the paper; that only later, when he was calm and other people had entered the room did he observe the envelope on the bedside table; that (he) entered the President's room some three times after the shot."[5]

According to the testimony of several people present at the cabinet meeting, Vargas did sign a paper of some kind before the cabinet meeting on the morning of August 24th. What that document may have been remains a mystery. Vargas's Minister of Labor, João Goulart, is said to have produced an unsigned copy of the suicide letter, which he claims was given to him by Vargas on the day of the cabinet meeting. Assuming the letter to be false, that gentleman must know more than he cares to talk about.

A Note On Sources

Material except as otherwise noted was obtained from Rio newspapers from about the beginning of August to late November, 1954. *O Cruzeiro* and *Manchete* were also utilized. It would be pointless to list either in footnotes or on this page the numerous sources.

Of special help however, in reconstructing the anti-Vargas movement in the Armed Forces as well as the cabinet meetings of August 24, were articles appearing in *O Cruzeiro* for September 18, September 25, and October 2, consisting of interviews with Tancredo Neves, former Minister of Justice, José Americo, former Minister of Public Works (*Viação*), and Brigadier Epaminondas Gomes dos Santos, former Minister of Aeronautics, respectively.

[5] *Correio da Manhã*, Rio, September 3, 1954.

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VEBLEN'S LEISURE CLASS

By HARALD A. PEDERSEN

Thorstein Veblen (1857-1929) was a philosopher who also interested himself in economic and sociological problems. His basic economic ideas were presented in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* which forms the basis for this discussion. One aspect of his economic philosophy presented in *The Engineers and the Price System* gained world wide reknown during the Great Depression under the name of "Technocracy." Despite the short duration of this movement, the impact of Veblen's writings and his pioneering economic theory has been profound. The publisher's note about the author in *The Modern Library* edition says,

> The collapse of orthodox economic doctrine during the years of the world depression has vindicated the keenly analytic and prophetic writings of Thorstein Veblen. The new point of view and method elaborated by him riddled the whole structure of economics as a pseudo-social science and created instead an entirely original set of economic categories based on changing industrial conditions rather than an inflexible system formulated from so-called eternal principles.[1]

The argument in *The Theory of the Leisure Class,* is based on the premise that man makes society and society molds the man. Man finds himself in a given physical and social environment and creates institutions which will enable him to survive in this environment. The institutions thus created then in turn mold the coming generations of men. Veblen says, "There is a continual selective sifting of the human material...and this selection proceeds on the grounds of fitness..."[2] Veblen thus places himself firmly on the side of social evolution and utilizes the Darwinian method in interpreting the contemporary social and economic phenomena.

He describes the process of selection rather bluntly. He says:

> With the advent of the predatory stage of life there comes a change in the requirements of the successful human character.... The traits which characterize the predatory and subsequent stages of culture, and which indicate the type of man best fitted to survive under the regime of status, are...ferocity, self-seeking, clannishness, and disengenuousness — a

[1] Thorstein Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, Random House, 1934), p. v.

[2] *Ibid.*, 246.

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> free resort to force and fraud. . . . It may be worthwhile to point out that the dolicho blond type of European man seems to owe much of its dominating influence and its masterful position in the recent culture to its possessing the characteristics of predatory man to an exceptional degree.[3]

Veblen did not live to see this theory of the preeminence of the dolicho-blond type exploited to the fullest by the Nazi Germans, nor did he live to see another exception among the brachycephalic brunettes, such as Napoleon was, rise to great heights as the political and military leader of the Germans.

It is not without significance for his later work that the author was the son of Norwegian immigrants and that he apparently was raised to adulthood in the tradition of the Norwegian peasant culture, as this culture developed after being transplanted to the Wisconsin-Minnesota milieu. In terms of the typology currently in vogue in sociological literature, the peasant society is a sacred society, as contrasted to a secular society, a la Becker; it is a folk society rather than an urban society, a la Redfield; it is a *gemeinschaft* rather than a *gesellschaft*, a la Tonnies. Social relations in a sacred society are family oriented; the patterns of behavior are tradition determined; the group is relatively isolated from disturbing or non-conforming culture contacts. The division of labor is mechanistic, rather than organic, a la Durkheim.

In contrast to the Norwegian peasant society from which Veblen emerged, the American intellectual metropolitan group to which he gravitated is accessible. Culture contact is a daily occurrence. Innovation is prized. Every man has his well circumscribed job to perform.

Thorstein Veblen may be described as a marginal man in the sociological sense. His life and works are the life and works of a man in revolt. He finds it necessary to reaffirm his rejection of the values, the way of life, which constitute his cultural heritage; yet, he cannot find himself completely happy within his new environment.

Veblen achieved a high degree of success within his chosen field. After being graduated from Carleton College in Minnesota, he went to Johns Hopkins University and later to Yale for graduate work in philosophy. The latter institution awarded him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1884. Before going to the newly organized University of Chicago, he held a fellowship in economics at Cornell University.

During his twenty year tenure at the Baptist-sponsored University of Chicago, Veblen carried out some of the most productive research of his academic life. He published *The Theory of the Leisure*

[3] *Ibid.*, 224-225.

Class and *The Theory of Business Enterprise*. He was dismissed from the University in 1906, and there is little doubt that his economic heresies, as well as an unchaperoned crossing of the Atlantic with a lady, contributed to the relief apparent in certain circles when Veblen left the University. He taught at Leland Stanford and the University of Missouri before becoming a lecturer at the New School for Social Research in 1918. During his lifetime Veblen published ten major works, and a collection of his essays was published after his death.

In speaking of Veblen, Stuart Chase says, "He was like an astronomer constructing orbits for future generations. At the turn of the century he gathered his facts, synthesized them in one of the boldest interpretations in the history of economics, and foretold the mold into which that history must fall for decades to come. Today the world is beginning to recognized his stature."[4]

Veblen did not always like what he saw when gazing into the future, but he painted a word picture in bold strokes and left it there for his fellow men to contemplate. He noted that there is a conflict between the temperament and characteristics which best serve the individual and those which best adapt the individual to a useful life in the industrial community.

> The collective interests of any modern community center in industrial efficiency... . The collective interest is best served by honesty, dilligence, peacefulness, goodwill, an absence of selfseeking, and an habitual recognition and apprehension of causal sequence, without admixture of animistic belief and without a sense of dependence on any preternatural intervention in the course of events. Not much is to be said for the beauty, moral excellence, or general worthiness and reputability of such a prosy human nature as these traits imply; and there is little ground of enthusiasm for the manner of collective life that would result from the prevalence of these traits in unmitigated dominance. But that is beside the point. The successful working of a modern industrial community is best secured where these traits concur... . On the other hand, the immediate interest of the individual under the competitive regime is best served by shrewd trading and unscrupulous management.[5]

The inspiration for the writings of Veblen comes from the period of the Robber Barons and the Muckrakers. This was the period of the empire builders and the period in which mass production industry had its inception. This was the era that brought forth such books as *The Shame of the Cities* by Lincoln Steffens, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* by Jane Addams, *How the Other Half Lives* by Jakob Riis, and

[4] *Ibid.*, xiii, xiv.
[5] *Ibid.*, 227-228.

many others. This was the period when the brownstone houses rose on Park Avenue and the slums emerged on the lower East Side. It was the period when equally pretentious mansions were filling in the North Shore in Chicago. There were powerful and ruthless men in those days and there were men who raised their voices in protest against the ruthlessness and against the inequities of the emerging social and economic system.

In view of this background and contemporary situation it is not surprising that Veblen should choose the leisure class as the vehicle to carry his argument. By implication it would appear that he was motivated to carry on his research and to develop the theory of the leisure class in an effort to solve a personal, as well as, a theoretical conflict.

The conflict revolves around the fact that the values to which people adhere are not necessarily the values which bring success or recognition in the contemporary industrial society. In the personal instance the conflict between the values of the ethnic group from which he had his origin could be resolved by adopting as his own the values of the host ethnic group. The American value system, however, contained a good many of the same precepts. American Puritanism placed no less emphasis on honesty and loyalty than did Veblen's Norwegian forbears. But it was not by strict adherence to a policy of honesty that the Robber Barons of the period were able to amass fortunes and build brownstone houses. The newspapers and magazines of the day were filled with accounts that could lead E. A. Ross to quip, "A railroad deal is a railroad steal." And it was entirely in keeping with the times that Ross should find himself ousted from the Southern Pacific's endowed Stanford University as the result of his levity.

To solve this dilemma, Veblen postulates a dichotomous system which divides all possible forms of work into two types, namely industrial and pecuniary labor. "The coersive utilization of man by man is not felt to be an industrial function; but all effort directed to enhance human life by taking advantage of the non-human environment is classed together as industrial activity."[6]

This division of labor is derived by an ingenious bit of research into the early forms of human life as revealed by archeological and anthropological research. Veblen observes:

> The institution of the leisure class is found in its best development at the higher stages of the barbarian culture. . . . In such communities the distinction between class is very rigorously observed; and the feature of most striking economic significance in these class differences is the distinction maintained between the employments proper to the several classes. The upper classes are by custom exempt or excluded from industrial oc-

[6] *Ibid.*, 10.

cupations, and are reserved for certain employments to which honor attaches. Chief among the honorable employments in any feudal society is warfare; and priestly service is commonly second to warfare.[7]

Having thus set up the ideal type, Veblen carries his readers through a number of modifications and eventually wanders far enough back in history to arrive at the apparent point of origin for the particular division of labor which is observed in societies that have the best development of the leisure class. He finds this point by overshooting the mark and demonstrating that the earliest form of human association known to anthropology and archeology is a classless society and a society in which there is no invidious division of labor. These communities that are without a defined leisure class have certain characteristics in common. Veblen describes them in this manner: "They are small groups and of a simple structure; they are commonly peaceable and sedentary; they are poor; and individual ownership is not a dominant feature of their economic system."[8]

In such a society the individual merges with the group and there is no basis for invidious comparisons between members of the group. The basis for comparisons emerges gradually in the transition from primitive savagery to barbarism. This is the stage in human development when man invents implements which help to make him a rather powerful animal. The necessary conditions for the emergence of a leisure class are becoming realized and these conditions are: (1) that the community must be of a predatory habit of life, and (2) that subsistence must be available on sufficiently easy terms to permit exemption of a considerable portion of the community from steady application to a routine of labor.

The critical point in these two conditions is the emergence of the realization that there are two types of work. In its earliest manifestation this differentiation takes the form of distinguishing between man's work and woman's work. The exact line of demarcation between the two will vary from generation to generation and from society to society, but the basic distinction between exploitation and drudgery between menial work and other employment, between industrial and non-industrial forms of work, between man's work and woman's work is basic to all societies except the early savage communities.

Veblen then points out that this distinction has little obvious significance in a modern industrial community and accordingly has been given little attention by modern economic writers. Nevertheless, it persists as a common-place preconception, as for instance, the aversion we all have for menial tasks.

Veblen also goes to great lengths to demonstrate that the jobs formerly performed by women in the early barbarian culture are the

[7] *Ibid.*, 1.
[8] *Ibid.*, 7.

same jobs that today are generally classified as industrial jobs. Many of these jobs have been specialized and elaborated and tied to a machine, but the operation stems from a function normally performed by the women in primitive society.

The second step in the development of a leisure class is the emergence of the concept of private property. The right to claim ownership to property is derived from the individual's right to retain for himself certain prizes from the hunt or from war. Veblen maintains that the earliest form of ownership is the ownership of the woman by the man. He continues:

> There was undoubtedly some appropriation of useful articles before the custom of appropriating women arose... . In all communities the members, both male and female, habitually appropriate for their individual use a variety of useful things; but these useful things are not thought of as owned by the person who appropriates and consumes them. The habitual appropriation and consumption of certain slight personel effects goes on without raising the question of ownership; that is to say, the question of a conventional, equitable claim to extraneous things.[9]

In this stage of development man has the right to use the bounty from the hunt and from war. When this principle of "the right to use" was applied to female captives seized in war, there arose a form of ownership-marriage in which the female captive was the virtual slave of her captor. Subsequently, the status of slavery was extended to other captives and inferiors seized in war and the ownership marriage was extended to include other women than those seized as captives. Summarizing, Veblen says:

> The outcome of emulation under the circumstances of a predatory life, therefore, has been on the one hand a form of marriage resting on coersion, and on the other hand the custom of ownership. The two institutions are not distinguishable in the initial phase of their development; both arise from the desire of the successful men to put their prowess in evidence by exhibiting some durable result of their exploits... . From ownership of women the concept of ownership extends itself to include the produces of their industry, and so there arises the ownership of things as well as of persons.[10]

In other words and briefly stated, man, having secured for himself a woman, finds himself in business. If this early man could only have been satisfied with this, which is itself no mean accomplish-

[9] *Ibid.*, 23.
[10] *Ibid.*, 23-24.

ment, the destinies of subsequent generations of men might have been different. But it was not within the nature of predatory man to be satisfied and Veblen hurried on to elaborate on man's folly.

Both the economic man, which emerged from these small beginnings, and man, the economist, are the object of Veblen's satire. It is little wonder that Veblen gained only a faint hearing from his contemporary colleagues and that the acceptance of his theories had to await the collapse of classical economic doctrine under the weight of a world depression. The following passage is but a small sample of the satire he directs at his contemporaries:

> The end of acquisition and accumulation is conventionally held to be the consumption of the goods accumulated — whether it is consumption directly by the owner of the goods or by the household attached to him and for this purpose identified with him in theory. This is at least felt to be the economically legitimate end of acquisition, which alone it is incumbent on the theory to take account of. Such consumption may of course be conceived to serve the consumer's physical wants — his physical comfort — or his so called higher wants — spiritual, aesthetic, intellectual, or what not; the latter class of wants being served indirectly by an expenditure of goods, after the fashion familiar to all economic readers.
>
> But it is only when taken in a sense far removed to afford its naive meaning that consumption of goods can be said to afford the incentive from which accumulation invariably proceeds.[11]

The classical economist, according to Veblen, has allowed himself to be blinded by the manifest function of capital accumulation, namely consumption to satisfy physical and "higher" wants, to such an extent that he is completely oblivious of the existence, or even the possible existence, of other or latent functions. Veblen leaves no doubt that he considers the latent function, heretofore ignored, the primary function. He states:

> The motive that lies at the root of ownership is emulation; and the same motive of emulation continues active in the further development of the institution to which it has given rise and in the development of all those features of the social structure which this institution of ownership touches. The possession of wealth confers honor; it is an invidious distinction. Nothing equally cogent can be said for the consumption of goods, nor for any other conceivable incentive to acquisition, and especially not for any incentive to the accumulation of wealth.[12]

[11] *Ibid.*, 25.
[12] *Ibid.*, 25–26.

Veblen then proceeds to develop the concept of pecuniary emulation in greater detail. This concept is the basic premise of his thesis in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. Originally the invidious comparisons between members of the community was derived from sheer physical prowess. The history of mankind is filled with games designed to reveal the superior strength and cunning of the competitors. As the predatory stage of culture developed, man began to accumulate trophies of the hunt and this accumulation of trophies — the array of heads displayed by the head hunters of the South Pacific, the array of antlers, boars heads and elephants tusks, the array of silver loving cups displayed by more recent patrons of games of skill — all tend to bolster the impression of physical prowess and form the basis for invidious comparisons.

However, as trophies of war — women and other slaves — gain the ascendancy, the society soon begins to assume the characteristics of a self-sufficing industrial community. Property and the products of industry become the primary basis for such comparisons. Physical prowess declines as a basis for invidious comparison and the ability to accumulate, by quasi-peaceful means, the goods of industry gains the ascandancy. From here it is but a short step to the point when the goods themselves — property — become the most easily recognized evidence of success and become the conventional basis for esteem:

> The possession of wealth, which was at the outset valued simply as an evidence of efficiency, becomes in popular apprehension, itself a meritorious act. Wealth is now itself intrinsically honorable and confers honor on its possessor. By a further refinement, wealth acquired passively by transmission from ancestors or other antecedants presently becomes even more honorific than wealth acquired by the possessor's own effort. [13]

Society at this point has reached the pecuniary stage in the development of culture. Property has become the basis of popular esteem and so also the *sine qua non* for that complacency known as self-respect. Man's self-respect is bolstered or deflated by his estimate of his position in relation to the mythical average man. The coal miner suffers by comparison with the steelworker; the grade school teacher is envious of the high school teacher; the college professor is losing ground to the government worker; the statistical average man in Mississippi suffers by comparison with the statistical average man in New York. As Veblen says:

> In the nature of the case, the desire for wealth can scarcely be satiated in any individual instance, and evidently a satiation

[13] *Ibid.*, 29.

> of the...general desire...is out of the question...since the struggle is substantially a race for reputability on the basis of an invidious comparison.... The propensity for achievement and the repugnance to futility remain the underlying economic motive. The propensity changes only in the form of its expression and in the proximate objects to which it directs man's activity.... Relative success, tested by an invidious pecuniary comparison with other men, becomes the conventional end of action.... Purposeful effort comes to mean, primarily, effort directed to or resulting in a more creditable showing of accumulated wealth. Among the motives which lead men to accumulate wealth, the primacy, both in scope and intensity, therefore, continues to belong to this motive of pecuniary emulation. [14]

Having established that there is an invidious comparison between various types of work, and that the basis of modern capital accumulation is the principle of pecuniary emulation, we shall move on to a hurried consideration of the various attributes of this modern society to which the bulk of the book *The Theory of the Leisure Class* is devoted.

Property, or wealth, in modern industrial society is not a readily discernable object; i. e., it is not possible to develop the fine points of discrimination necessary for the effective functioning of the principle of pecuniary emulation. You can count the heads displayed by the head hunter, or the wives of the sultan and Brigham Young. But a house is a house is a house and a business is a business; a lawyer, a lawyer; a doctor, a doctor; and a professor, a professor. So man obligingly invents a way to make invidious comparisons between houses, between businesses and between professions — more correctly, I should say, between people in various houses, businesses and professions.

The sport coat I'm wearing is a Scottish tweed. It is a McNab — you thought I was going to say Harris, but anyone can get a Harris tweed these days. A McNab is something special. Do I detect a slight tinge of green in your eyes? I bought it the last time I was in Kobenhavn implying, of course, that I have been there often. I use the Danish spelling advisedly to demonstrate that I have the time, and therefore the money, to devote to such unproductive pursuits as learning a language understood by less than five million people. It would have been more impressive to use Latin or ancient Hebrew or better still Sanskrit, all of which have even less practical utility.

Now to return to Veblen and the two major concepts which this little aside is designed to illustrate, let us consider first "conspicuous leisure" and then "conspicuous consumption." Veblen points out that in order to gain and hold the esteem of one's fellow men "it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. The wealth or power must be put in evidence, for esteem is awarded only on evidence."

[14] *Ibid.*, 32-34.

The wealth or power of an individual may be put in evidence by abstention from productive work. Historically, and as noted earlier, productive labor — industrial labor — is associated with weakness and subjection to a master, as with women and slaves. It is, therefore, a mark of inferiority.[15] Abstention from labor not only soon becomes the conventional evidence of wealth but it also becomes the conventional mark of social standing.

To be a member of the leisure class a man must live a life of leisure. Veblen emphasizes that the term leisure does not connote indolence or quiescence. "What it connotes," he continues, "is non-productive consumption of time. Time is consumed non-productively, (1) from a sense of the unworthiness of productive work, and (2) as an evidence of pecuniary ability to afford a life of idleness."[16]

But a man does not live the whole of his life "before the eyes of the spectators who are to be impressed with that spectacle of honorific leisure which in the ideal scheme makes up his life."[17] The rules of the game are stringent, so it is not enough that the aspirant to social standing has never been *caught* with a hoe in his hand, but he must be able to present unmistakable evidence that he has never *had* a hoe in his hand.

The evidence of time spent in non-productive activity may be built up in numerous ways, not all of which need be as severe or as unmistakable as the Chinese custom of binding the feet of the female offspring of the nobility, thus incapacitating them for any form of menial work. An encyclopedic knowledge of the dictates of Emily Post, a continuing display of knowledge about such minutiae as the number of times Shakespeare used the word oyster, a ready facility in the use of dead languages, such as Greek and Latin, or decadent languages such as French and Danish, all attest to the fact that a man's secluded hours have not been spent surreptitiously in productive work. The list of Veblen is even more damning to scholarly pursuits, because he includes besides

> the knowledge of the...occult sciences; of correct spelling; of syntax and prosody; of the various forms of domestic music and other household arts; of the latest properties of dress, furniture, and equipage; of games, sports, and fancy-bred animals, such as dogs and race horses.[18]

Such hobbies as philately and running toy trains are equally certain demonstrations, especially if you are fortunate enough to have these hobbies called to the attention of the spectator public in a full length Sunday feature, as was the incoming mayor of Memphis.

[15] *Ibid.*, 36.
[16] *Ibid.*, 43.
[17] *Idem.*
[18] *Ibid.*, 45.

In an expanding economy, the time may well come when a man no longer himself is able adequately to display his capacity for non-productive consumption of time. *Harper's Magazine* recently carried a feature article comparing the American girl with her European counterpart, as a wife and helpmate to her American husband. The article pictured the American girl as an ardent devotee to the life of leisure, who could not possibly turn her hand to such menial tasks as changing diapers or dishwashing but left these to her already overworked husband, who under the burden of providing the necessary income to keep up with the Joneses in this non-productive use of time and money, died a premature death as a result of coronary or nervous disorders resulting from overwork.

The *Harper's* article criticizes the American girl unjustly because in essence it demonstrates her superior ability to recreate herself in the image of the American male's dream — a dream of the ideal girl constructed out of the fabric of Veblen's theory of the leisure class. The woman's role is a status-giving role. She must look as if she had never done a day's work, and smell as if the sweat — pardon me, perspiration — of menial toil had never soiled her body. Only thus can she give the impression of leisurely living which is so important for success in the highly competitive race of pecuniary emulation.

This role of the woman as the bearer of respectability carries down even to the lower classes of economic society, where:

> ...little if any pretense of wasted effort, in ceremonial cleanness and the like, is observable, and where there is assuredly no conscious attempt at ostensible leisure, decency still requires the wife to consume some goods conspicuously for the reputability of the household and its head. So that, as the latter-day outcome of this evolution of an archaic institution, the wife, who was at the outset the drudge and chattel of the man, both in fact and in theory — the producer of goods for him to consume, — has become the ceremonial consumer of goods which he produces. But she still... remains his chattel in theory: for the habitual rendering of vicarious leisure and consumption is the abiding mark of the unfree servant.[19]

Conspicuous consumption becomes a more important method for demonstrating the reputability and respectability of the household as the mobility in and the complexity of the society increases. As long as the group is small and relatively well circumscribed, the less obvious aspects of conspicuous leisure will serve adequately to nail down the prestige status. Hence, conspicuous consumption is less important in rural areas than in highly urbanized areas.

[19] *Ibid.*, 83.

The wide porch with a canebottomed rocking chair behind the columns and a table beside the chair to hold the mint julep may be adequate to establish the level of non-productive consumption of time and the high reputability of the Southern gentleman in his home county or state. In the keener competition observed in the modern metropolitan centers more eye-catching and arresting maneuvers must be resorted to. Veblen says:

> In the modern community there is... a more frequent attendance at large gatherings of people to whom one's everyday life is unknown; in such places as churches, theaters, ballrooms, hotels, parks, shops and the like. In order to impress these transient observers, and to retain one's self complacency under their observation, the signature of one's pecuniary strength should be written in characters which he who runs may read.[20]

Conspicuous consumption is not necessarily wasteful consumption. It frequently resolves itself to a choice between competing brands of the same product. The relative value of the competing products as status giving purchases or possessions is generally determined by price rather than quality. The Cadillac has a higher status appeal than the Willys and the Lincoln than the Ford. The hi fi radio enthusiast of the past decade may perhaps be a deviant case, since the owner of a set about which he can boast that it can reproduce sounds which only a dog can hear seems to gain status all out of proportion to the relative cost of his reproducing set when compared with a factory assembled console, but on the other hand, the potential cost of the hi-fi radio is almost unlimited.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that Veblen missed the boat on two critical points. The current "do it yourself" craze which has spread through the American economy permeating all social strata, certainly goes contrary to the basic premise upon which the canon of conspicuous leisure is founded. However, it may be said that Veblen at least left the door open for such an eventuality in predicting that as the metropolitan and urban economy became more firmly established the canon of consumption would assume primary importance. The second point on which his predictions went awry was with respect to the status of women. Women he predicted would continue for a good many decades, if not generations, to be relegated to secondary jobs, and under no circumstances could they be expected to gain a very strong foothold in those vocations specifically reserved for the leisure class, such as government and the professions.

I recommend *The Theory of the Leisure Class* for careful perusal. It is a very interesting and intriguing book, but decidedly not *leisure-time* reading.

[20] *Ibid.*, 87.

UMI

MEDIEVAL BAGGAGE

WHAT THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY TRAVELER CARRIED

By VIRGINIA OWEN BARDSLEY

PART II

The Itinerants

Whether the personality of the Middle Ages was disintergrating or the character of modern England was congealing, the confusing century proceeded with all its amazing contrasts; and despite the brutalities, the ignorance, the superficialities of the latter Middle Ages there was withal a merriment and a zest that stirred in the English breast. Not every stone lifted was destined for the hermit's bridge. A few were plucked from the earth to be shied at seneschal or earl. Not every draft of ale was swallowed solely to enrich the bishop. The peasant's ruddy skin bespoke his favorite drink.[1] Not all the minstrels followed the king and army from field to siege and back again, although at one time when people stayed more closely at home, the minstrel had made it his business to learn of valorous deeds of the heroes in England and abroad, of their exploits at the jousts and in the garden, in order that on his rounds he might relay them to a clientele eager to part with a ha'penny if it bought news. But the business of minstrelsy too was changing. When all England was moving about everyone knew what was going on, and the minstrel to survive began to debase his art and to offer rude entertainments as well as song and story. The vielle, the relative of the Irish harp, very difficult to play, no longer swung from his neck as he kicked up the dust on Stinking Lane and Rotten Row. Instead he had replaced it with a jangling tambourine that required no skill.[2] The songs he sang to its accompaniment were delivered with a wink and a leer, for they referred to the realistic and the physical rather than the ideal.[3]

[1] R. M. Garnier, *Annals of the British Peasantry* (New York, 1895), 308.

[2] Jusserand, op. cit., 190.

[3] *Ibid.*, 201.

Though the minstrel still strolled the countryside offering his wares to any crowd, depending on manor or abbey for his bed and evening meal when he was lucky enough to find them, in the proper season he sought out the fairs in hopes of finding a receptive and generous audience. In every county and many a borough several times a year fairs were held, and when they were in progress, no markets were permitted to operate and nothing might be sold — unless the owner hired a stall.[4] So every peasant with a penny took it there, and every merchant with a product and every charlatan with a cure went there to meet him and make a fair exchange. The acrobats brought their dancing women who stood on their heads and danced on their hands; the jugglers rushed in tossing balls into the air and catching them and clutching their knives in their mouths; the man with the performing bear, now following, now going ahead, could cause the doltish villein to drop his mouth still wider. Perhaps the most daring man of all was the man who brought books from the cities and, what is more, sold them. The mummers' dusty feet betrayed the fact that they had traveled far with their rag-tag burden of gaudy garments and animal masks, but the laughter and farthings paid the mummers' way and paved it to the next village.[5] Many a reason sent a man to the fair and the pleasantest baggage he had to carry was a merry heart.

Then as now the most gladsome spirits and the lightest hearts were not always the most pure. Good John Ball, seeking out serfs, probably felt little of the blithe insouciance of the professional wayfarer, though he too was followed by minstrels, even as were his antagonists, the lords of the land. Great, too, was the congregation of herbalists who, for a week or a month or so long as the fair and the pennies lasted, proclaimed the contents of the boxes and bags they produced.[6] From the florid oratory of the medieval medicine man one might presume no one of them dealt in common remedies made of common stuff, each being licensed it seemed by the generosity of great beauties or renowned lords of foreign lands to dispense their products. The charlatan professed himself to be a simple distributor, commissioned to offer the fabulous remedies or love potions or beauty aids to English folk too poor to journey abroad to buy them.[7] Like Eve this wandering herbalist "span" out his yarns of the miraculous that like Adam he might "delve" in the pockets of the villeins. Jingling his farthings in his pocket, adjusting the herbs in a bundle cloth tied on his back, as he made his way from Goose Fair in Nottingham to the Stourbridge Fair outside Cambridge, he might well have served as the inspiration for Autolycus.

[4] *Ibid.*, 249.
[5] *Idem.*
[6] Barnard, *op. cit.*, 315.
[7] Jusserand, *op. cit.*, 177.

Jog on, jog on, the footpath way,
And merrily hent the stile-a;
A merry heart goes all the day,
Your said tires in a mile-a.[8]

Close on the heels of this charlatan came the chapmen, the peddler, and the merchant in his foreign clothes. Together at the fairs they reflected the shifting aspects of Britain's commercial life. When a shop was still only a group of traveling chapmen, the spirit of trade was even then close to the English heart. In the *Patent Rolls* the first entry for the year 1301, given at Gateside on January 7, granted "Protection, during pleasure, for William, son of William de Ethole, merchant, who has license to trade in divers parts and to go to stay at Berwickon-Tweed."[9] Trade was being carried on when the century began and nothing really halted it. The Jews before the expulsion not only had lent money, but had taken to the road as peddlers, with their packs full of luxury items and precious metals and in their hearts a love of gold.[10]

Other peddlers brought simple items for simple tastes, though often the scarcity of the commodity converted it into a luxury. A woman who broke her sewing needle must have looked longingly down the road for the wayfarer with the box and the stick, and her joy must have been exceeding, when after exploring the treasures of the box, she might claim one of them for her own.[11] Her good man, if he had an extra coin or two, might peek into the chapman's box of marvels, at vests, caps, gloves, musical instruments, purses, girdles, hats, daggers, pewter plates, at candles, and spices, and canvas, and sheets.[12]

The regular merchants were different from peddlers, but they too were itinerant. If not foreign themselves, they often affected foreign styles, great forked beards, and Flaunderish hats. They carried wines and wools, cheese, butter, tin, and coal, but especially they carried wine to an ale-drinking public who had hardly known the taste of it when the century began. They carried spices and silk and camphor and musk. For transportation they used boats and ships on the rivers and waterways until complaints arising from the fact that they were monopolizing the streams caused action to be taken against the practice.[13]

The Thames served as a highway and boats and barges traveled back and forth carrying passengers.[14] There was also a constant

[8] William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, Act IV, Sc. 1.
[9] *Patent Rolls, 1292-1301*, 484.
[10] Prosper Boissonade, *Life and Work in the Middle Ages*, 160.
[11] Garnier, *op. cit.*, 24.
[12] Jusserand, *op. cit.*, 233.
[13] *Ibid.*, 234.
[14] Chute, *op. cit.*, 30.

movement of freight, local boats bringing rushes from Greenwich for church and household floors, stone from Yorkshire, and huge daily quantities of fish. From the waterfront ran porters carrying "raisins and cotton and paper and sugar and canvas and soap."[15]

Watching the coming and going were the women who had taken their laundry to the river for washing. Among the novelties they saw were loads of sea-coal, "so-called because it came by sea from Tyneside."[16] Among others the reaction to the new fuel varied. Clergy and nobility armed with their influence repaired to the city with long bills of complaint of the danger of fire and the stench of the smoke, while the tilers gratefully took candles to burn before the good saints and set out with their tools. Thatch, safe enough on a house with only a smoke-hole,[17] appeared less often on new houses when chimneys grew popular, and even miserable huts got red-topped roofs.[18]

One boat on the Thames unloaded Coppus Coteme and Taldus Janiani and their followers, merchants of the society of Friscobaldi of Florence, "to change and purchase throughout the realm, silver, pollards, and cockards, and all manners of other white money," counterfeited for sterling, on condition that they bring such silver and plates issuing from such moneys to the exchanges of England to exchange them there.[19]

These Florentines had their license on the same day that servants of Henry de Lucy, Earl of Lincoln (who was going to Scotland on the business of King Edward II), gained a safe conduct to go to Chester to make purveyance of "victuals and other necessaries."[20]

English merchants, presumably carrying English products, were setting out for various places at the same time the foreign ones entered.[21] The mercers also took their goods to ports and set out in English boats.[22]

When native countrymen came to London bringing supplies, they were sure to meet with restrictions, some of which they observed. They were ordered to sell their poultry at home or at specified places and not to peddle it about the countryside and city. Nor should they "bring or expost any poultry for sale that is rotten or stinking or is not fit for a man's body."[23] The husbandmen were urged

[15] *Idem.*

[16] *Idem.*

[17] Garnier, *op. cit.*, 156. The thatch brought most often for roofs was wheat and rye straw. Haver straw was least often sought because the birds built nests in it.

[18] *Ibid.*, 31.

[19] *Patent Rolls, 1292-1301*, 505.

[20] *Idem.*

[21] Parks, *English Traveler*, 395. Two dealers in rosaries and one goldsmith, operating in Rome in 1361, are known by name.

[22] *Ibid.*, 347. The listing of cloth of Guilford is made in Roman Customs as early as 1375. The first recorded attempt at Italian trade in English boats was in 1391, but proved a fiasco.

[23] Rickert, *op. cit.*, 25.

to desist from the practice of selling cherries, vegetables, and the like near St. Paul's churchyard, opposite the church of St. Austin, because they disturbed the clergy saying prayers and matins.[24] The priests, better informed in such matters, had sent their complaint through the proper channels instead of making the direct approach, and did not meet the sad fate of the cottager who, on being disturbed by a minstrel, took a door bar and chased the man down the street, where he received a knife in his side for his pains.[25]

So great was the traffic that the roads about the gates suffered, slowing entry of needed produce and exist of unwanted characters. In 1373 Edward III called for the collection of a levy for the repair of the road outside Aldgate — the same Aldgate in which Chaucer and his wife Philippa lived for twelve years beginning just after the tax was passed. The tax was laid on iron-bound carts carrying victuals to the city or blood and entrails of slaughtered animals entering or returning to the extent of twopence. On every cart not iron-bound carrying dung the charge was a penny. And every horse with its sack of grain was forced to pay a halfpenny.[26] It is no wonder then that when the poet looked daily upon the traffic below his window while he wrote, his poetry like the century he lived in showed evidence of such change that to this day the earthy sounds and smells of the Fourteenth Century remain.

While good men, even chapmen and peddlers, were curling up for sleep under a greenwood tree or on a lord's hall floor, cushioning their heads on logs or, if lucky, a bag of feathers, some of the merchants continued to hack their wares. In 1393 it was necessary to regulate the trade of those who

> At night in hosteleries and in other places and in secret and by candlelight do sell divers wares larcenously pilfered, old as being new; and others who do practice the sin of harlotry under color of the sale of wares. Therefor the mayor and aldermen ordain the beadle to go and ring each of two bells, one hour before sunset and one half hour after sunset. At the second bell people shall depart from the market with their wares on pain of forfeitude...[27]

Even by modern standards the microcosm of trade was being established and was developing to the stage at which the term "a nation of tradesmen" would cease to be a slur and become a long familiar compliment. Perhaps at no time in history but this, when shops and markets had been founded but had not become rooted, when the privilege of buying without permission was at last acknowledged, until the

[24] *Ibid.*, 24.
[25] *Ibid.*, 17.
[26] *Ibid.*, 12.
[27] *Ibid.*, 26.

present century with its electronic projection, was trade carried so exclusively to the custom as it was in the Fourteenth Century. The only goods the poor man received from afar were those from the itinerant's pack.[28]

The rich, contrariwise, had access also to messengers. The messenger, a favored being, unlike other travelers was licensed to take the shortest routes, over hill, through the waste, and across the sacred fields where no peasant or even begging friars might go on pain of punishment for trespass.[29]

From a messenger on his own payroll Richard II, while staying at Waltham Abbey, received the news that Wat Tyler's men were rising.[30] His grandfather had always displayed generosity when a messenger came to him, especially when he brought such great tidings as had the Queen's messenger in hastening with the news of the birth of Richard's father, the future Black Prince. On that occasion Edward III bestowed on the fortunate wayfarer the tidy sum of forty marks a year for life.[31]

Though gifts, promised articles, and news were relayed by messengers, sometimes more grisly commodities were conveyed, as was the case when Sir John Mistreworth's quartered remains were sent for display to the four corners of the kingdom.[32]

While, in taking the nearest path through the woods and wastelands, the messenger because of his patronage and speed was immune to a degree from the minions of the law, he was still confronted by the same dangers from outlaws as was the habitual wayfarer or occasional traveler. To the outcast from society and his sometime brother, the knight or lord turned robber, the traditional pilgrim or chapman probably seemed choicest prey. Almost any pilgrim carried at least a few pence, if no more, in his purse for alms and oblations, and the merchant had both money and goods. An instance of a pilgrim's misadventure occurred when

> Thomas Walsham, alias Coke, late canon of Walsingham, on January 20, 21 Richard II, raped against her will Emma, wife of William Bole of Walsingham, coming on a pilgrimage to Canterbury and took goods and chattels from her purse to the value of 20 pounds...[33]

In 1388-89, in 11 Richard II, outlaws "feloniously robbed a travelynge man of Canterbury with mercery and spicery of 20 shillings in gold and silver money and a certain black horse with saddle and

[28] Jusserand, *op. cit.*, 224.
[29] *Idem.*
[30] Baquet, *Greater Abbeys*, 331.
[31] Jusserand, *op. cit.*, 229.
[32] *Ibid.*, 227.
[33] Rickert, *op. cit.*, 257.

bridle, worth 20s"; and a man of Coventry of horse and bridle, a leather bag and money; a dyer of Stepney of 2 basins, 2 ewers, and of cloaks, by night; "at a wood by the highway two leagues this side of Stony Stratford," a chapman of a pack of linen cloth and ten marks in money; a stranger, a chapman, of a pack of shoes and woolen clothes, a gold seal called a "Synet" and four marks.[34]

Almost any man might turn brigand, there being in general three main categories of such felons. The first consisted of lords, knights, squires, and their retainers who, when chased by the bailiff and his men as was famous Robert de Rideware, chose to take to the greenwood rather than fight. The second class was of two kinds: organized bands in a lord's colors, with his arms and weapons, preying at will upon the populace; and the ordinary organized band of robbers. The third group was composed of individuals, plain thieves, cutthroats, and lawbreakers. All classes loved the woods, where the king's law seemed to end. By the year 1300 the citizens in a few places had a running chance to escape because of the ordinance of 1285 ordering the clearing of roads for two hundred feet on each side of the highways, the cutting and carting away of brush, of small trees, of coppice, and the filling of ditches in which a man might hide.[35]

On March 20, 1301, the King gave a license for the abbot and convent of Strata Florida to rebuild on its former site, with all the consequent fetching and carrying, their abbey which had been burned against the King's will, on condition that "the woods and ways around it, which might become a source of danger in the future, be cut down and repaired by ordinance of the justice of West Wales."[36]

The knowing brigands in such transactions between Church and State lost one hideaway and gained a better one. When the king's men did occasionally come slashing at them in the forests, an inviolate sanctuary near at hand was truly heaven sent. Nor were the wary outlaws slow to claim the benefit of clergy. Often robbers carried a cross before each act and fled to the church afterwards, to the chagrin of helpless victim and frustrated bailiff.[37] Once within the protected confines of the church, the traitor or felon could abjure England and escape punishment by leaving the country. As he made his way from church to port, he could be taken into custody only if he failed at any step to bear the cross before him.[38] Indignation arose among the goldsmiths of London when they discovered that counterfeit gold and silver for use and as money was issuing from St. Martin-le-Grand, made by insolvent debtors and felonious goldsmiths who had sought sanctuary in that church, had set up shop, and had found the perfect

[34] *Ibid.*, 256.
[35] Lindsey and Groves, *op. cit.*, 96.
[36] *Patent Rolls, 1292-1301*, 499.
[37] Lindsey and Groves, *op. cit.*, 95.
[38] *Idem.*

system of distribution for their false wares in worshipers and clergy.[39] In addition, they were safe.

So great was the urge for easy living in those hard times that any man who wished to live by his wits instead of his work could enter minor clerical orders, take to the highways, and go about his nefarious business in perfect security because of the robes he wore.[40]

But benefit of clergy or not, the favorite spot for the man with the ill-gotten gains remained the forests. For some lawbreakers the stay there was a short one. In the *Patent Rolls* for the years 1292-1307 almost every pardon for crime includes the "subsequent outlawry" which followed it.[41] England still lay huddled around the manors and the towns. The greenwood was everywhere and the home of all pursued.

Professional wayfarer, friar, messenger, or brigand — no matter who he was or what his business on the highway — it seems safe to conjecture there was one among the number who was reluctant to be there. He was that abject creature the schoolboy, an unwilling habitué of English roads, the son of an ambitious father who dreamed of a black gown for his son. Carrying a board or a slate on which to write his letters,[42] he trudged along. The sons of more affluent fathers carried also the *Eight Parts of Speech* by Aelius Donatus, in the Fourteenth Century a rhymed version of the original, which could be bought in manuscript for three-pence.[43] When the lord's fat pigeon sat temptingly by the roadside, inviolate, and the saucy squire passed on horseback inviting a skimming clod, it is almost certain that the schoolboy, too, longed to fly to the greenwood.

The Desperate

The maculate century was not marred only by war and crime. As it does in every century, disaster came many times, mowing the fields of progress, sowing the future crop. Among the catastrophes of the age were the two which sent the people in herds onto the English roads, the Black Death with its resulting terror, the Peasants Revolt with its attendant of confusion.

The pack rats of the Middle Ages, an army trained and practised in looting, brought back to England the pestilence that was devastating Europe. When the boats unloaded and the yeomen started down the English roads for home, they carried with them the dread souvenir of their service. Gasquet thought they brought the disease through Weymouth harbor in the late summer of 1348,[44] but the first

[39] *Idem.*
[40] Jessop, *op. cit.*, 84.
[41] *Patent Rolls, 1292-1301*, 568.
[42] Chute, *op. cit.*, 35.
[43] *Idem.*
[44] Hutton, *op. cit.*, 205.

cases showed up in Bristol on the return from the siege of Calais, about the Feast of the Assumption, August 15.[45] As the plague spread, the highways became alive with people; peasants risking the penalties of leaving the manor and carrying what they could snatch from their empty hovels; the rich bogged down with their caravans, deserted by servants as soon as the open country was reached; the lords returning from the shifting court to their stable estates. The friars and monks, desperate, afraid, "forgetting vows and discipline," fled the convents and took to the highways as vagabonds[46] with their brothers in fear- the villains, the robbers of the dead, the homeless and the fatherless, the mountebanks, the laborers escaping the city, the cottagers seeking its refuge.

Utter lawlessness reigned. The officers were dead or burying their families, often in the common graves where the carts dumped the bodies after bumping over roads that no one bothered to repair. Others, brave if not valorous, defied higher authorities by staying away from tasks imposed by the ill and the dead.[47] Some men of substance under the cover of the abandoned laws hired bands of ruffians to cut other men's corn and haul it away.[48] Often they did the same with their forests. One lord of renown in the country with his gang of thieves burned the great Hall at Little Barrington, beat the ancient owner, Petronilla de Gros, destroyed what he dared not take, stole her jewels, money, and other valuables, and carried them away.[49] Mingling on the road with the multitude of hastening travelers, the evil-doer was lost.

Some officers remained loyal. Others accepted the task of apprehending criminals to insure a daily meal in a land that was untended, in which even the cattle sickened and died. Food became ever harder to obtain, even by theft, and only gold retained anything like its former value. These remaining officers threw the felons and vagabonds into jails and tuns, so-called because of their shape. In these foul cells sometimes the guard died, leaving the prisoners to starve, but occasionally the representative of the law went out and brought in as a gift for them the safest and choicest of foods, a healthy new prisoner, whom those already incarcerated fell upon and devoured.[50]

Then when the town serjeant in Sandwich at one p.m. made his appointed rounds and sounded the common horn and called the citizens from the fourteen points of the city to meet at St. Clement's Church,[51] not even the wrath of the town and parish fathers was sufficient to entice the people from the safety of the deserted cottage or the companionship of the putrid corpse-filled ditch.

[45] Lindsey and Groves, *op. cit.*, 32.
[46] Hutton, *op. cit.*, 206.
[47] Lindsey and Groves, *op. cit.*, 26.
[48] Jessop, *op. cit.*, 98.
[49] *Idem.*
[50] *Ibid.*, 33.
[51] Mrs. Green, *op. cit.*, 227.

Whatever the initial cause of the coming of the Black Death, the priests who were left began to tell the people what priests in all societies have told them in times of disaster, that they had incurred the displeasure of deity because of their disobedience. Knighton supported them in his *Chronicon*, citing as an example the wickedness in high places.[52] Even as the dying called for the priest or abbot to seek health or peace in death through the gift of his wealth to the Church,[53] the undaunted Alice Perrers was disguising herself in the lists. The dying sent off for the robe of a Franciscan to die in and left whatever there was to the friars, and died in peace and poverty while the orders grew fat and rich.[54] And Knighton said,

> There arose a huge rumor and outcry among the people because when the tournaments were held, almost in every place a band of women would come as if to share the sport, dressed in divers and marvelous dresses of men- sometimes to the number of 40 or 50 of the fairest and comeliest ladies (though I say not the best) among the whole kingdom. Thither, they came in parti-colored tunics, one color or pattern on the right side and another on the left, with short hoods that had pendants like ropes wound around their necks, and bells thickly studded with gold and silvernay, they even wore pouches slung across their bodies in which were those which are called *daggers* in the vulgar tongue; and thus they rode on choice war-horses or other splendid studs to the place of the tournaments. There and thus they lavished their possessions, and wearied their bodies with foolishness and wanton buffoonery, if popular report lieth not... The same year and next came the general mortality throughout the world.[55]

So by at least one later wit the Black Death was designated "The Gift of the Merry Women."

To the poor, regardless of the source, the Black Death was only a more severe pressure of the hand, sacred or profane, that lay always heavily upon them. A City of London Guildhall manuscript contains the usual restrained description of the distribution of alms during which four women and five men were trampled to death in a crowd pushing through a doorway to collect alms left by a will.[56]

Other days, other dire disasters. The Black Death passed across the roads of England, taking with it a large percentage of the populace. Then the wayfarers gathered their wares again into their

[52] Rickert, *op. cit.*, 347.

[53] Frederick Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College* (London, 1952), 25.

[54] Jessop, *op. cit.*, 134.

[55] Lindsey and Groves, *op. cit.*, 25.

[56] Rickert, *op. cit.*, 347.

bundles; the jousting fields blossomed again with tents and banners; the lords accepted payment of produce and money instead of work for feudal obligations, and winked when the villein put sheep on the common and waste, and looked the other way when the carts lumbered in bringing small yew and hawthorne hedges; and the friars and poor priests again sought their normal audience on corners and outside churches, which, to compete, had to install pulpits where none had been before.[57] Through the cooperation of the wayfaring priest and other media theretofore unknown in a knowing century the unrest that had gained pressure under restriction was helped to burst forth.

Down the road they came, rising against manor, against convent, against churches, against the king himself -- peasants, laborers, citizens, serfs. "With any old plate of armor left from the wars, with longbows and bracers for the arms (to lessen the sting from the bowstrings), with knives, sickles, scythes,"[58] sticks and pikes, they formed the peasants' army, and went like any body of fighting men, but afire with the justice of their cause.

Like other armies this one looted and took personal vengeance for past offences. To symbolize their hatred of the game laws through which they could be killed or maimed, the peasants at St. Albans hung a rabbit from a pole, carried it, and set it in the pillory.[59] In London in a strangely related incident the insurgents took to the pillory a cook John Welburgham and the rotten fish he was selling for fresh, and kept him there for an hour while they burned the fish beneath him.[60] Heads rode on sticks and many an obese enemy walked in fear while the peasants had their hour.

A short hour of glory it was in London, though for months the highways bore the seething villeins on their way to seek what they with hope called justice. Wat Tyler, whose teen-aged daughter lost unwillingly to the tax collector what no decent young girl should be without,[61] Wat Tyler, the leader of the villeins, fell wounded on the plains of Mile End and someone carried him away. While the young King consulted with the leaderless men, Mayor Walworth dug the first diversion ditch for turning the wayward century back to its normal channel. Seeking Tyler, he found him where they had taken him, in St. Bartholomew's Church, dragged him to the market place, cut off his head, and took it back to the fields where the king was still parleying with the Rebels.[62] In this way he avenged among other things the insult that occurred to the young monarch when Tyler had grasped the reins of his horse, called for a bottle, rinsed his mouth, and spat twice.[63]

[57] Hutton, *op. cit.*, 75.
[58] Jessop, *op. cit.*, 94.
[59] *Ibid.*, 125.
[60] Rickert, *op. cit.*, 36.
[61] Charles Dickens, *A Child's History of England* (New York), 106.
[62] G. M. Trevelyan, *The Age of Wycliffe*, 243.
[63] *Ibid.*, 242.

The breaking of pledges given the rebels that day was foreshadowed by Walworth's act. Revocation of promises, restriction of wages and times of work due lords, of movement, and even of clothes came rapidly. In harvest time even the apprentices and journeymen "were not to be found carrying the tools of their trade but were to go out to cut and help bring in the harvest."[64] There were bans by Church and state on dances, revels, and weddings. Both frowned on May-day festivals and mid-summer frolics.[65] In London there was a proclamation against one's going into the streets or suburbs in mask or visor under penalty of imprisonment.[66] Sad must have been the day for Chaucer when the Maypole, visible from his window at Aldgate House, stood still and unadorned. The favorite games were proscribed. The carrying of weapons, even the knife, was forbidden.[67] But the people had ingenuity and returned to the use of man's first weapon, the cudgel. By the end of the Fourteenth Century the "staff-strikers" had grown formidable, but Richard II had refused to take the sticks from the peasants, "having a secret fondness, no doubt, for the rustics who made such invincible soldiers."[68]

The manorial system faded into the pastoral as the peasant drove ever larger flocks of sheep down the roads to the common.[69] The lord began to pasture his sheep in his fields because labor was scarce and there was no one to work them.[70] So fast had the wool industry grown that the plentiful supply — complicated by overproduction and poor distribution, by changes in commercial and battle fortune — plagued the sheepowners. Knighton records the fact that by 1390 when the wool had lain unsold for two or three years there were many poor in the land. As a result mothers carried their children to much traveled ways for the purpose of begging. Many strayed and became lost.[71] The outskirts of the towns were crawling with creatures covered with loathsome sores, living no one knows how. "They were called lepers and certainly real leprosy existed among them. Children must have swarmed with vermin, and been covered with itch, scurvy, ringworm, and other hideous eruptions."[72]

Even the rogues had to become ingenious as well as bold. They carried powders which they gave to men to make them sleep against their wills, that they might rob them while they slept. Even vagabonds got hold of the formula which they treasured carefully under their garments. The magic potion called for equal parts of the seed

[64] Trevelyan, *Social History*, 26.
[65] G. G. Coulton, *Chaucer and His England* (London, 1946), 108.
[66] *Ibid.*, 109.
[67] N. J. Hone, *The Manor and Manorial Records* (New York, 1906), 97.
[68] Garnier, *op. cit.*, 67.
[69] *Ibid.*, 68.
[70] *Ibid.*, 70.
[71] Rickert, *op. cit.*, 347.
[72] Jessop, *op. cit.*, 94.

of henbane, darnel, black poppy, dried briony root — ground fine and put into the food of the victims.[73]

As amid the confusion the century neared its close, the new mayors and aldermen of London and all possible of their predecessors in office rode out for the swearing in at the Guildhall. They were escorted by their attendants and all the guilds and fraternities, and their sword was carried upright before the mayor. The lavish ceremony over, they all rode home -- still in festive clothes and trappings and in the order of the "mysteries."[74] The eyes of the poor might watch their extravagance, but the Fourteenth Century had almost taught the poor how to behave again.

Like everyone living in it, the Fourteenth Century too went down its highway to the end. The son of the Black Prince got his lesson at least, from the son of John of Gaunt and Katherine Swinford, Chaucer's sister-in-law, when he came with his men to claim his inheritance. Chaucer departed with his age from a country that was to become again, relatively speaking, a nation of stay-at-homes. Wycliffe's ghost was temporarily laid by the first flames of the Inquisition to be carried across the Sleeve to England. The plague was milder on its recurrence, going almost gently over the countryside. And knights rested more often in rose bowers, their shoepoints chained to their knees.[75]

[73] Rickert, *op. cit.*, 203.
[74] *Ibid.*, 39.
[75] Barnard, *op. cit.*, 159.

MORE OF HAL PHILLIPS' MISSISSIPPIANS

A REVIEW

By HAROLD S. SHELLGROVE

The Loved and the Unloved by Thomas Hal Phillips is a gripping story — one that moves at a rapid pace. It holds one's interest from beginning to end and is very effective when read at a single sitting. The scene is Mississippi. In the prologue, twenty-three-year-old Max Harper, a sharecropper's son and World War II veteran, is awaiting execution for the murder of his landlord's son, Vance Acroft, who had tormented Max since childhood.

While imprisoned, young Max has written his autobiography in an attempt to determine whether he himself thinks he should die for his crime. It is through this means that Phillips relates the story proper. But it is not until the epilogue that the full impact of Phillips' method of presentation is felt. The whole approach is unusual and is handled with dexterity.

In this novel, the author shows keen insight into the life of the southern sharecropper who frequently moves yearly from one piece of worn-out land to another, always hoping to better his condition and never quite succeeding. Something of the pity felt for this class is to be found in Max's statement, "We had moved once a year for every year that I could remember. . . ." And the simplicity with which Phillips describes the home to which the sharecropper is moving his family is touching indeed:

> The house was old, with three rooms and a hall. From a long way off we could hear the tin roof rattle in the wind. We could see, too, that the doors were standing open, as if the other tenants had left owing Mr. Sid a good bit.

But once the sharecropper is settled in his new home, he returns to his slovenly ways. When Max states that "the ground around the doorsteps was soft from much dishwater and waste," he is merely describing the life of the class in general. The fact that the Harpers were able to muster only "hot buttered cornbread and molasses" for breakfast on the morning after arriving at their new home seems to indicate that the previous year's farming activities had been far from successful. Of course, all sharecroppers do not fit into the category of the Harpers. Later in the book, Phillips shows that the lot of Victor Wells is a little bit better than the average. In both cases, it is

an indication of the author's skill that in depicting sharecroppers he achieves a subtle realism by noting the simple, little everyday things characteristic of the class. In this way he is able to suggest the sordid side without actually describing it in detail.

Able as he is at delineating character, one would like to quibble with Phillips with respect to some of his handiwork. To be sure, such people as Mr. ten Hoors do exist, and Phillips has characterized him graphically. On the other hand, admitting the reality of Mr. ten Hoor (and Phillips actually makes him live), it is still rather difficult to imagine the pedantic conversation between the old grammar school teacher and young Max. Perhaps Mr. ten Hoor should have been at least a retired secondary school teacher and possibly even a college professor! And one wonders whether young sharecropper Max actually could have acquired the broad education, philosophical and literary, from ten Hoor which he apparently did. He was only fourteen years of age when he began to spend his nights at the Poorhouse to attend the aged man; he was associated with ten Hoor, it would seem, for scarcely three years; and more often than not he played hookey from his job. Evidently Mr. ten Hoor did not mean it when he belabored Max for not being a genius, for Max's mental processes from the very beginning belie that fact. Even so, Max is a flesh and blood character, and it is not difficult to accept him even if he is a little Jane Eyreish.

To this reviewer, Vance Acroft, the young man whom Max finally murdered, does not stand out as vividly as he might. I feel that his character lacks integration. Vance's sister, Margo, fares little better. At times she appears hardly more than a moron, but it turns out that even though she is not as brilliant as Vance, she is a very sensible young woman, endowed with plenty of deep feeling.

Other characters seem to be extremely well drawn. Max's father and mother display all of the characteristics of the more lowly type of sharecropper. Mr. Acroft, an exceptionally strong character, is Max's friend to the end. Indeed, the full purport of this friendship can be gained only by reading the epilogue. In the portrayal of Rudy, the younger, delicate brother of Max, Phillips has written with a loving hand. Loveable also are Miss Lillie with "her little ugly words, which one expects from men," and Victor, her husband, whom Max also liked to hear "curse every now and then" because it kept him, as it did Miss Lillie, from "the false aura of perfection."

No section of Phillips' book is more beautifully wrought than the discussion of the domestic relations in the household of Lillie and Victor Wells. Phillips' own childhood must indeed have been a very happy one for him to write with such loving kindness of this family. The basic goodness of the Wells is further shown by their accepting the orphaned Max into their home after he returned from the army.

In many ways Max Harper was a very admirable person, but there were several disagreeable traits in his character which cannot be overlooked. Granted that Vance Acroft was a tormentor of Max, one feels that Max hardly gave Vance a chance. Almost from the be-

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ginning Max vowed that he would kill Vance some day, and kill him he did. And on several occasions when it seemed that Vance was making overtures of peace, Max spurned them. Even after Victor had been shot, he said to Max in "the most peaceful" voice: "I really ... liked you ... all right." All Max could feel was: "Well it is finished."

After his self-analysis, Max evidently forgave himself, but I am not at all sure that Vance's treatment of Max was sufficient grounds for murder. It is entirely possible that the inferiority complex brought on by his crippled foot caused Max to become supersensitive to any remark that Vance might have made. Max himself admitted that if he had handled the first encounter with Vance differently, events might not have turned out as they did. Perhaps the rifle had something to do with the murder: after all it was an unlucky weapon from the start!

The Loved and the Unloved is the fifth novel by Mississippi-born Thomas Hal Phillips. These novels have appeared over a period of six years. *The Bitterweed Path* was published in 1949; *The Loved and the Unloved*, in 1955. With the first and the last before me, it is apparent that much more labor and love went into the writing of the first. *The Bitterweed Path* teems with hauntingly beautiful passages, written in almost Biblical prose. There is more than a modicum of emotional tension in the book, and the characters are firmly drawn.

I have found all of the virtues of *The Bitterweed Path* in *The Loved and the Unloved*, but to a lesser degree. Certainly the latter is a mature achievement, a novel of which almost any writer could be proud. But it is the belief of this reviewer that Mr. Phillips can do much better. He is an excellent craftsman; he knows how to delineate strong characters; he can tell a story packed with emotional tension; he can create the illusion of reality. What he needs now is a plot worthy of his abilities. And he also needs, it seems, to forget numbers and deadlines and give to his writing of the next novel that which he gave to *The Bitterweed Path* — more time to live with his characters. Mr. Phillips has already achieved considerable stature as a novelist; it now remains only for him to become a great one.

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